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VOL. XXIV

FOR 1944-1945

EDITED FOR THE TRUSTEES BY
MILLAR BURROWS AND E. A. SPEISER

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SEAL IMPRESSIONS
OF NUZI

EDITH PORADA, Ph. D.

PREFACE

The present work, which was undertaken with the generous support of the American Schools of Oriental Research, includes more than one thousand of the seal impressions on the tablets discovered at Nuzi during the first season of excavations at the site of Yaghlán Tepe, conducted under the auspices of the Iraq Museum and the American Schools of Oriental Research. These tablets are housed temporarily in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The photographs* of the seal impressions were taken by the writer with the material and equipment put at her disposition by the Archaeological Corpus of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The writer wishes to express her thanks for the generous assistance received from Dr. H. Nelson, Acting Director of the Oriental Institute, Professor A. T. E. Olmstead, Chairman of the Archaeological Corpus, and Dr. Ann Perkins.

The index of seal owners' names was compiled with the help of Dr. Pierre M. Purves, whose enthusiastic collaboration was of invaluable aid to the writer.

Most sincere thanks are extended to Professors Albright, Burrows, Goetze, and Speiser for their initiative in bringing this project to realization and to Dr. A. J. Sachs as well as to the Publication Committee of the American Schools of Oriental Research for their help in the editing of the manuscript. The writer finally wishes to express her personal gratitude to Professor Millar Burrows, President of the American Schools of Oriental Research, who has never failed to help over all the difficulties involved in the preparation of this work. The writer feels that it is owing to Professor Burrows' patience and resourcefulness that this manuscript is now before the public.

* The impressions of cylinders which were rolled more than once, i. e. which present a repetition of the seal design, have been reproduced in their entirety only if part of the impression is fragmentary and the repetition helps to reconstruct the design. Otherwise the photographs have been cut to reproduce only one rolling of the cylinder. In several instances it was possible to make combined drawings of fragmentary impressions. These are found on pls. LI-LIV. In these drawings the inscriptions have been omitted because they present a separate subject for extensive study which could not be undertaken before the completion of this book. Impressions reproduced by drawings are marked by an asterisk in the text.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. Collections of Cylinder and Impressions

Ashmolean	D. G. Hogarth, <i>Hittite Seals, with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean collection.</i> (Oxford, 1920).
Berlin	A. Moortgat, <i>Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).</i> (Berlin, 1940)
BM	British Museum (unpublished)
BN	L. J. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des Cyindres Orientaux . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale.</i> (Paris, 1910)
Brett	H. H. von der Osten, <i>Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett</i> (Oriental Institute Publications XXXVII, Chicago, 1936).
Brussels	L. Speleers, <i>Catalogue des Intailles et Empreintes Orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire.</i> (Bruxelles, 1917)
Cér. Capp.	H. de Genouillac, <i>Céramique Cappadocienne (Musée du Louvre, Dépt. des Antiquités Orientales, Série Archéologique, Tome I).</i> (Paris, 1926)
De Clercq	<i>Catalogue Méthodique et Raisoné de la Collection De Clercq.</i> (Paris, 1885)
Florence	L. J. Delaporte, <i>Les Cyindres-sceaux Orientaux du Musée Archéologique de Florence.</i> (Aréthuse IV, 1927) pp. 53 ff.
Guimet	L. J. Delaporte, <i>Cyindres Orientaux (Annales du Musée Guimet XXXIII).</i> (Paris, 1909)
Hague	J. Ménant, <i>Catalogue des Cyindres Orientaux du Cabinet Royal des Médailles.</i> (La Haye, 1878)
Kültepe	Impressions on tablets from Kültepe from E. B. Reilly's collection of photographs (unpublished).
Lajard, CDM	Felix Lajard, <i>Introduction à l'Etude du Culte Public et des Mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident; planches.</i> (Paris, 1847)
Lewy TC III	J. Lewy, <i>Tablettes Cappadociennes (Musée du Louvre, Dépt. des Antiquités Orientales; Textes Cuneiformes, Tome XXI, Troisième Série, Troisième Partie).</i> (Paris, 1935-37)
Louvre	L. J. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des Cyindres, Cachets et Pierres Gravées de Style Oriental (Musée du Louvre), 2 vols.</i> (Paris, 1920-1923)
Moore	Gustavus A. Eisen, <i>Ancient Oriental Cylinders and other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore</i> (Oriental Institute Publications XLVII, Chicago, 1940)
Morgan	Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals I. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Bollingen Series. In preparation.

- Newell H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E. T. Newell* (Oriental Institute Publications XXII, Chicago, 1934).
- Philadelphia L. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collections of the Museum* (Publications of the Babylonian Section, XIV-XV, Philadelphia, 1925).
- Southesk *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems Formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk* ed. by his daughter, Lady Helena Carnegie. (London, 1908)
- SMN Harvard, Semitic Museum, Nuzi tablets (unpublished).
- Walters C. H. Gordon, *Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery* (Iraq VI pt. 1, 1939 pp. 3 ff.).

II. General Abbreviations

- AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung* III- (Berlin, 1926—).
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology* (Baltimore etc., 1885—).
- AMI *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, herausgegeben von Ernst Herzfeld (Berlin, 1929-38).
- BASOR *American Schools of Oriental Research. Bulletin* (South Hadley, Mass., etc., 1919—).
- BMQ *British Museum Quarterly* (London, 1926—).
- Bossert, AC H. Th. Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete from the Earliest Times to the Iron Age*. (London, 1937)
- Brunner-Traut, TAAE Emma Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten* (Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 6, 1938).
- BSA *British School at Athens, Annual* (1894—).
- Byblos M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos, Atlas*. (Paris, 1937)
- EPHA *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art* (Ed. TEL, Paris, 1935-1938).
- Frankfort, CS H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. (London, 1939)
- Furtwaengler, AG A. Furtwaengler, *Die Antiken Gemmen; Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*. (Leipzig-Berlin, 1900)
- JAOS *American Oriental Society Journal* (Boston etc., 1849—).
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern studies* (Chicago, 1942—).
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1914—).
- Lachish O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge (and) L. Harding, *Lachish II (Tell ed Duweir)*. The Fosse Temple. (London, 1940)
- MDP France. Délégation en Perse. *Mémoires* (Paris, 1900—).
- Moortgat, AG A. Moortgat, *Assyrische Glyptik des 13ten Jahrhunderts*. ZA XLVII, p. 50-88.
- Moortgat, BK A. Moortgat, *Die Bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker*. (Berlin, 1932)
- Moortgat, VR (see Berlin in I)

- Nougayrol, CP J. Nougayrol, *Cylindres-sceaux et Empreintes de Cylindres Trouvés en Palestine (au Cours de Fouilles Régulières)*. (Paris, 1939)
- Nuzi R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi, Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tapa near Kirkuk, Iraq, Conducted by Harvard University in Conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University Museum of Philadelphia, 1927-1931*. (Cambridge, Mass., 1939)
- OIP Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. *Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago, 1924—).
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1898-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1884—).
- Sachs, GW Curt Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*. (Berlin, 1929)
- Sachs, WHD Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*. (New York, 1937)
- Unger, ABK E. Unger, *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst* (Breslau, 1927)
- Van Buren, ClF E. Douglas Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* Yale Oriental Series, Researches, XVI). (New Haven and London, 1930)
- Van Buren, MF E. Douglas Van Buren, *Mesopotamian Fauna in the Light of the Monuments* (AfO XI p. 1-37).
- Ward, SC W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Publication No. 100 of the Carnegie Institute of Washington). (Washington, 1910)
- Weber O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Der Alte Orient, XVII-XVIII). (Leipzig, 1920)
- Wreszinski, Atlas W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1923-1935)
- WVDOG Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen*. (Leipzig, 1900—)
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1886—).

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL

The present work contains a selection of more than one thousand of the impressions on the tablets found at Nuzi, most of them in the house of a certain Tehip-tilla. The tablets written for Tehip-tilla and his family cover four to five generations. The first is represented by Tehip-tilla's parents; the second by Tehip-tilla and his brother; the third by Tehip-tilla's son Enna-mati and two other sons of Tehip-tilla as well as his two nephews; the fourth by Tehip-tilla's grand-son Tarmi-tilla as well as four other grand-sons; and finally a fifth generation is indicated by a few tablets written for Tiesš-urhe, Tehip-tilla's great grand-son.¹

This is the first time that such a large number of seal impressions on tablets coming from the same site and written within a short period have been systematically studied.

The date of the tablets has been given as approximately the second half of the 15th century B. C.² At that time the predominantly Hurrian population of the town of Nuzi appears to have been ruled by the king of Mitanni. In view of this historical connection I have retained the term "Mitannian"³ for the glyptic phase manifested in the seal impressions of Nuzi. It may be added that these seal impressions show only one aspect of Mitannian glyptic art, namely that aspect which presents a greater number of Mesopotamian elements in contrast to the one in which Syrian features predominate because of direct influence from that artistic sphere.⁴

¹ This division of the tablets into generations was made by Dr. Pierre M. Purves of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (cf. also *AJSL* vol. LVII, April 1940, p. 163). It must be said at once, however, that for our purposes this relative chronology can only be used with reservations. Not only were the glyptic groups continued by the different workshops over more than one generation, but the cylinders were not infrequently handed down from father to son and may also have been re-used after the death of the original owners by persons who acquired possession of them in some accidental manner.

² Cf. OIP LVII p. 1 for the historical information available concerning the approximate date of the Nuzi tablets.

³ Cf. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization No. 22) p. 70 for the connotations of the term Mitanni and Frankfort, *CS* p. 280 for justification of this terminology in regard to the seal-designs.

⁴ Frankfort's statement in this connection that the Nuzi imprints "do not give a good impression of the actual achievement of the Mitannian seal-cutters" (*CS* p. 273) may have to be somewhat revised in view of the material here presented. Despite the fact that Syrian elements are not as predominant as in the glyptic products of the regions 'farther to the west,' our material seems none the less representative of the charac-

This Mitannian glyptic art⁵ as it appears in the present collection of imprints is divided into two different styles here termed the Common and the Elaborate styles.⁶ The division is indicated by the difference in material of the extant cylinders that can be assigned to this glyptic phase: glazed steatite or fayence were almost exclusively used for seals of the Common Style which usually show schematic, often coarse engraving;⁷ whereas hematite, jasper and similarly hard materials were employed for cylinders of the Elaborate Style which present more careful and varied carving.⁸ Moreover, the subject matter of the two styles differs; in general, the cylinders of the Common Style show a greater repetition of motives, while an infinite variety of themes is portrayed on the sealings of the Elaborate Style. Within these two styles the sealings have been arranged in groups. Those of the Common Style are grouped mainly according to similarity in the engraving. Principal motives and predominant iconographical figures were given secondary consideration and were used as criteria only when the variety of the engraving was too great to permit the formation of sufficiently extensive

teristic and novel features introduced and evolved in that era chiefly by the Hurrians, but also by Babylonians and Assyrians, Kassites, and Indo-Europeans, all of whom lived and worked together in Nuzi (to judge by the statistics of the Nuzi names cf. OIP LVII p. 5) probably in the same manner as in the other towns of the land of Mitanni.

⁵ Mitannian glyptic is not fully represented by the present collection of imprints. The greater part of the material from Nuzi (most of the impressions on the 3000 Nuzi tablets in Harvard), as well as the bulk of the contemporary material from Assur, is as yet unpublished.

⁶ The reason why I have chosen this terminology, rather than that introduced by Frankfort ("popular" and "fully-grown" Mitannian Style; cf. CS p. 273), is that the examples which, according to Frankfort, principally merit the classification "fully-grown Mitannian" (the sealing of King Sauššattar of Mitanni, Nuzi II pl. 118: I and the cylinder from Tell Brak, Iraq IV pl. XII: I [CS pl. XLII a and XLIII m respectively]) are not closely related to any of the Nuzi sealings included here. The same is true of the sealing possibly made with the cylinder of King Aššur-Nirārī of Assyria published by Moortgat (VR pl. C: 2) and related by him to the sealing of Sauššattar (cf. VR p. 60). The only one of Frankfort's "fully-grown Mitannian" designs which appears to correspond, at least in the Weather-god on the lion (or lion-dragon), to one of our sealings (No. 730) is that of a king of Hanigalbat (K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy* Berlin, 1935 pl. 28: 5 [CS text-fig. 88]), which is only published in a drawing and is therefore unsuited for stylistic comparisons. Furthermore, "fully-grown Mitannian" would have excluded the groups of sealings which are dependent on Babylonian and Syrian designs and form the basis for the genuinely Mitannian style that is manifested in Groups XXI-XXV.

⁷ Typical examples of Common Style cylinders are: Berlin 564-6, 568-576; Newell 289-293; Nougayrol CP AH 1-3, AH 5, EG 13, 15, 18, 24 etc.

⁸ The following are representative cylinders of the Elaborate Style: Furtwängler AG I pl. I. 6, Morgan 1028-1031, BN 440, 446, 469, Louvre A 951 etc.

groups. In addition to these principles, sealings of the Elaborate Style were grouped also according to marked dependence upon one and the same non-Mitannian glyptic phase.

To the twenty-six groups of sealings made with cylinders of the Nuzi period is added one that contains imprints made with cylinders which had been engraved in previous periods.

Groups I-XIV, all containing sealings of the Common Style, are mostly from the time of Tehip-tilla; a larger number of Tarmi-tilla period sealings appears in Groups XVI-XXVI, which present the imprints of the Elaborate Style;^{8a} especially Group XXV comes mainly from the tablets of Tarmi-tilla. This indicates a certain shift from the Common to the Elaborate Style within the Nuzi period.⁹

In the following pages, a short survey of each group precedes the analysis of the material.

GROUP I (Pls. I-II, Nos. 1-22)

This group is characterized by the manner in which the human figures, especially their faces, are rendered. The specific types of standards (mace and star-standard), usually placed between two standing figures, are distinctive of the majority of these sealings. The first part of the group, Nos. 1-15 contains small sealings the designs of which were quite carefully engraved, some of them probably on a hard material. This can be deduced from the fact that a cylinder in the Yale collection (YBC 7828) which was undoubtedly carved by the same man as the original of our No. 2, is made of hematite. Nos. 16-22, the second part of the group, are larger sealings made with less minutely executed cylinders, probably of glazed steatite or fayence. Most of the impressions of Group I were found on tablets of the time of Tehip-tilla.

Nos. 1 and 2 clearly show the manner of rendering the faces on the more carefully executed designs of this group; the nose is indicated by a sharp angle, two short parallel incisions form mouth and chin and a small drilling the eye. The cap is indicated by a large drilling and a thin line for a narrow brim. Most of the figures on these sealings are attired in long skirts marked by vertical stripes.

The most frequent motive in the first part of this group is that of two confronted

^{8a} Group XV is intermediate between the two styles.

⁹ Those Common Style sealings which do come from the period of Tarmi-tilla show certain changes; they are either smaller than the earlier examples (see, for example, No. 427 in Group X), or show coarsened and simplified designs (see Nos. 164, 167, 168, 213, 214, 220 to 222 in Group III). Two rampant animals, depicted one behind the other or crossed and filling the entire height of the sealing, are frequent among the ancillary motives of these Tarmi-tilla period imprints.

figures with a standard. On No. 8 one of these figures is depicted in semi-kneeling posture, brandishing a dagger. Another figure who grasps with one hand a standard and brandishes a dagger in the other is seen on No. 1. A similar figure appears on No. 2; however, on that sealing the person grasps not the principal standard of the scene but a smaller standard topped by a bird. Perhaps the meaning of this curious gesture is the defense of the standard.¹⁰

On the larger sealings in the second part of this group figures with standards also provide the principal motives. The two types of standards usually portrayed are a mace-standard and a star-standard. The first, best seen on Nos. 1 and 2, consists of a vase-shaped mace-head placed on a staff which is decorated by several pairs of short parallel lines. Perhaps these lines were meant to indicate a decoration of the staff by metal bands.¹¹ As mentioned above, the mace-standard is usually grasped by two confronted figures, however on No. 17 it is placed in an enclosure and on No. 18 it is used as a finial. The second standard which may be referred to as star-standard simply shows a star superposed upon the mace-head of the staff. A third type of standard, which occurs on No. 14, consists of a circle with an inscribed drilling placed on a staff. Perhaps the circle with the drilling was meant to symbolize the sun-disk which is indicated in such manner on No. 2.

On several sealings a "tree" occurs at the same time as the standard and in a few instances the "tree" replaces the standard. On Nos. 11-13 this "tree" is indicated by a bouquet-like design sprouting from a large globe on top of a staff. On Nos. 1, 21 and 21b a "tree" resembling a coniferous plant is represented.

A remarkable feature in the representations of the present group is the frequent occurrence of birds: on Nos. 1 and 22 a large bird with head turned backwards; on Nos. 2, 16 and 17 a bird mounted on a staff, forming a standard; ¹² on No. 15 ¹³ a bird soaring above a semi-kneeling mannikin, and on Nos. 18 and 19 a bird similarly portrayed above the vessel from which the two seated figures are drinking.¹⁴

¹⁰ See note 240 for the possible connection of such representations with those featuring the protection and defense of the "tree."

¹¹ On p. 110 below, I make the suggestion that the mace-standard is an abbreviation of another standard which I call the lion-club standard. Since the lion-club standard apparently was transformed into a vase and the blades into vegetal designs (cf. *ibid.*), we may assume that the mace of the present standard was likewise regarded as a vase on a staff. As to the decoration of the staff by short horizontal lines, I believe that this represents metal bands for the following reasons. We find similar bands decorating stems of "trees" on Nuzi sealings, for example on Nos. 158, 168 and 180. And such representations bring to mind the evidence from Khorsabad, where cedar trees bound by copper bands were found in front of the temples (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 206 and note 2).

It may be noted that such decoration of a staff by bands is also depicted on Syrian seals (e. g. Morgan 920 and 921) and on "provincial Babylonian" designs (e. g. Morgan 875) (for the term "provincial Babylonian" see p. 98).

¹² For comment on this bird-standard see p. 102 and p. 115 and note 243.

¹³ This sealing although deviating from the usual schemes of this group by presenting a reversed animal between standing figures instead of the standard or "tree," nevertheless conforms in style sufficiently to the present group of imprints to be included here.

¹⁴ For comment on the soaring bird see p. 115 and note 242; for the drinking figures see note 208.

GROUP II (Pls. II-V, Nos. 23-87)

Group II is distinguished by the manner of engraving, which limited itself to the plain outlines of human and animal figures without introducing any detail in the bodies. The group is divided into three sub-divisions according to the principal motive represented and the degree of care displayed in the engraving. Nos. 23-37 are carefully executed and show the ancillary motive in a panel; Nos. 38-53 omit the panel and portray, in a cursory manner, human and animal figures placed in the field; Nos. 54-87 present rows of animals and monsters, the design of which corresponds in most cases to those of the ancillary motives of Nos. 23-53. The sealings of this group are mostly from the time of Tehip-tilla; the material of the cylinders in this and the following groups of Common Style cylinders was probably fayence or glazed steatite.

The faces in this group are usually indicated only by a line for the nose and another (protruding slightly in front and at the back of the head) for the brim of the cap. This rendering is a further abbreviation of the already restricted means by which the human heads are rendered in Group I. Another distinctive feature of the present group is the decorative effect produced by the design of the exceptionally long, usually curved horns of the antelopes.

The "tree" most frequently represented is the same type of probably coniferous plant as seen on Nos. 1, 21 and 21b of Group I. Nos. 44 and 45 show a coarse rendering of the type of tree depicted on Nos. 11-13. Like the "trees" the standards depicted on the imprints of Group II show relation with those of Group I. The star-standard is frequently found, although the star is placed on a plain pole here and the mace-shaped enlargement of the pole below the star seen on the designs of Group I is omitted. The mace-standard of Group I is only represented on No. 36. The bird-standard, finally, seen on Nos. 2, 16, and 17 of the foregoing group, is found in very cursory rendering on No. 52. A new type of standard is seen on Nos. 32 and 33, showing one or more large circles, usually with a drilling in the center, on either side of the pole.

A distinctive feature of this group is the curious manner in which the stem of the "tree" on No. 28 or the column of three vertical lines on No. 37 is interrupted by a circle with a drilling in the center. A similar circle is also placed on top of a short pole (No. 27) or a column of vertical lines (No. 56), and is once seen suspended from the horizontal line bordering the top of the seal-design (No. 28).

The occurrence of vertical columns with the grill-pattern¹⁵ on the sealings of the present group, Nos. 35-37, is found frequently on extant seals of this style,¹⁶ but appears

¹⁵ I suggest this term for the pattern formed by intersecting lines which produce a star-like design and which are connected by an axial line.

¹⁶ E. g., Lachish pl. 33 A, B 41 Ashmolean 233.

rarely on the impressions from Nuzi. The criss-cross pattern used in horizontal panels is another decorative device often used on the seals of this group (Nos. 24, 60, 61, etc.).

The present group can be divided into three sections. Nos. 23-37 are all executed with considerable care and show the ancillary motive in a panel. Nos. 38-53 omit the panel and portray in cursory manner human and animal figures placed in the field, often giving the impression that a herdsman with his flock is represented (e.g. Nos. 48 and 49). Nos. 54-87 present rows of animals or monsters the design of which corresponds in many cases to those of the ancillary motives of Nos. 23-53. For example, the antelopes of Nos. 57 and 59 are identical with those of No. 26, the birds of No. 71 with those of No. 42a.

Aside from the design of the animals represented on Nos. 54-87, other details correspond to those of the foregoing impressions. On Nos. 54 and 65 we find the same type of standard as on No. 32; No. 66 presents the star-standard of Nos. 24, 27, 35, 38-40, and 42 and on No. 65 we find the same type of circle on a pole as on No. 27.

Not all sealings of this group show the obvious characteristics so far enumerated, but certain features of their designs nevertheless warrant their inclusion. For example, No. 62 was placed here because of the occurrence of the row of birds, the general rendering of which corresponds to the bird of No. 27. The human figure, however, shows more detail in the design of the face and the garment than generally displayed on the imprints of this group, and the type of tree corresponds to that of No. 132 in Group III. A distinctive detail on this and the next imprint, No. 63, is the curious manner in which the antelopes' heads are bent backwards (merged in one on No. 63). A composition similar to that of No. 63 is seen on No. 64: the two crossed rampant bulls form a decorative interval between the horizontal rows of the ancillary motive; the birds in this design correspond to those of No. 62.

Of the following sealings, the relation of Nos. 65 and 66 to the designs of the present group by the standards which they portray has already been mentioned. Consequently, No. 67 (showing vultures resembling those of No. 66) and No. 68 (presenting griffins similar to that of No. 65) can be joined to this group without further comment. No. 69 depicts a row of birds with the same type of head as given the griffin on No. 29; the rows of birds on Nos. 72-74 all show the criss-cross pattern characteristic of this group; by reason of similarity in motive and general style of rendering, the other seals with rows of birds (Nos. 71, 75, and 76) have likewise been included here.

No. 77 depicts a row of scorpions with a twist of a type encountered again on No. 78. In turn, the fish depicted on No. 78 correspond to those at the bottom of the ancillary motive of No. 40. Thus No. 77 as well as Nos. 78-84 can be safely classified in the present group. The badly preserved fragments Nos. 70 and 85, present the griffin and scorpion which have already been encountered among the impressions under discussion.

No. 86, presenting in the upper register a row of hares (an animal not encountered on the other designs of this group), has nevertheless been included here because of the relation to the general type of motive and the use of the horizontal strip filled by a criss-cross pattern which was mentioned above.

No. 87 presents in the stags depicted with their heads and fore-parts touching the ground and their hindquarters raised a species of horned animal and a posture not found among the other sealings of this group. A seal found at Abu-Hawam (*Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine* IV p. 63 pl. XXXVIII, 406) shows the same stags with a twist executed in the technique of our group; it therefore seems advisable to include this impression here.

GROUP III (Pls. VI-XIII, Nos. 88-214)

For the most part this group shows designs that feature a type of "tree," here termed "bouquet tree," with one to three standing figures. The scenes with three tall, long-robed figures, Nos. 110-120, are restricted to the period of Tehip-tilla. Those with two figures can be divided in two groups: the first (Nos. 121-149), portraying tall elongated figures, consists almost entirely of Tehip-tilla sealings; the second (Nos. 150-181), usually medium-sized sealings, covers all three generations from Tehip-tilla to Tarmi-tilla. The scenes featuring only one figure before the "tree" (Nos. 201-214) likewise range over the entire Nuzi period. Included in this group are Nos. 88-109, which appear to precede the bulk of the stereotyped representations of "figures with bouquet-tree," Nos. 182-200, in which the "tree" has been omitted (probably owing to lack of space) or which show somewhat different motives but are nevertheless related stylistically to the type of impressions assembled here. The figures on most sealings of this group wear long robes and round caps with upturned brim; their hair is gathered in a chignon. The ancillary motives are frequently framed or divided by horizontal patterns, mostly twists.

In the first section of this group, Nos. 88-109, there is great variety in the disposition of the figures and of the "tree," and in the designs by which the "tree" is rendered. The earliest impression, No. 88 is from the time of Tehip-tilla's mother. The fact that the original of this sealing was made at the beginning of the glyptic art of Nuzi is shown in the design of the "tree." Its shape clearly shows that it is derived from an Old-Babylonian emblem which Frankfort called mace with two feline heads (CS, p. 167, 170 and 178) and for which I use the shorter term lion-club. In the tree of No. 88 the mace has been transformed into a chalice and the blades into graceful volutes. The further transformation of this design into a "tree" which resembles a stylized bouquet and which I have therefore called "bouquet tree," can best be followed on the sealings of Group XVII. Its discussion has therefore been reserved for this latter group (see p. 47/8).

A few impressions show the same distinctive engraving which is manifested by No. 88. Their originals were undoubtedly all carved by the same seal-cutter. No. 89, for example, has a similarly graceful "tree" and also the nude heroes, of which one is partly preserved, resemble those of No. 88. On No. 90 the figure with scimitar and the female with raised hands are rendered with the same awkward postures as the corresponding figures on No. 88. Moreover, the faces of the figures on both sealings are drawn in the same curious manner with noses that give the impression of having had the bridge flattened. Even more clearly than No. 90, No. 91, shows the same treatment of the nose.

Whether or not No. 92 belongs to this small group of sealings from the beginning of Nuzi glyptic is difficult to tell because of the poor state of preservation of the imprint. The design of the "tree," however, resembles that of No. 91 although it has a larger

number of stamens. Two iconographical features may be noted on No. 92. One is the occurrence of the griffin-demon as guardian of the "tree" and associate of the bull-man, which is an innovation of the Nuzi engravers. The other is the portrayal of the Weather-god placing one foot upon a dragon who vomits fire or venom. Rendered in similar manner, the Weather-god is found on a large number of impressions in Group XXI. The belt-tassels between the god's legs indicated on this imprint, are one of the most characteristic features of the Mitannian and Middle Assyrian costume of gods and heroes.¹⁷

The following sealings do not belong to the small group just discussed in the sense of having been made by the same engraver. But their variety suggests that, as Nos. 88-92, they preceded the stereotyped scenes with the "bouquet-tree." On No. 93* the "tree" is replaced by a rosette formed by intersecting lines with clusters of small drillings between them (see drawing on pl. LI).¹⁸ The representation of the figure who appears to wear the mask of a griffin demon and holds a vase is discussed elsewhere (see p. 121). On Nos. 94-96 the "tree" or the standard which may be regarded as its equivalent, is restricted to the ancillary motive. It may be noted how the branch of the "tree" in the ancillary motive of No. 95, reappears above the neck of the antelope, as if passed behind the animal's back. This type of overlapping designs is elsewhere found in Mesopotamian art only in the Uruk and Early Dynastic periods.¹⁹

While the "tree" or equivalent standard occupies a minor position in the designs of Nos. 94-96, the principal scene appears to center around a person who holds a scimitar. He receives the worship of a suppliant goddess and of a human(?) being. Often animals or their heads are placed before him. It seems possible that this figure with scimitar represents a slayer of animals, perhaps of those creatures which were thought to menace the "tree" or standard.²⁰

Both motives, are pictured on Nos. 97-99, the figure with scimitar surrounded by worshippers, with animals' heads before him on No. 98 and the "tree" as an important feature of the principal scene. On No. 97 the "tree" is indicated by large circles with drillings in the center connected by lines which give the impression of streamers. On No. 98 a pair of wings is superposed on the staff with two volutes. Similar volutes which, as mentioned above, can be regarded as the transformed blades of the lion-club, form the petals of the "tree" on No. 99. This "tree" with the three stamens emerging from the calyx recalls the shape of a lily.²¹

¹⁷ Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren (*Foundation Figurines and Offerings*, Berlin, 1931 p. 43), suggests that this belt consisted of a broad strip of leather to which long cords were attached. The most prominent feature of this belt is the tassels at the ends of these cords, which can also be observed on Syrian cylinders (e.g. *Syria*, XII 1931 pl. III fourth seal from the top and seal reproduced at bottom of column), on the XVIIIth Dynasty representations of Near Easterners bringing tribute (e.g., Wreszinski, *Atlas*, passim), and on the Kassite boundary-stone EPHA I p. 267 B.

¹⁸ This brings to mind Neo-Assyrian representations where rosettes are also occasionally depicted in the place of the sacred trees. An example of this is the mural from Khorsabad, OIP 40 pl. 90.

¹⁹ E.g., Louvre A 26 and Wolley, *Ur Excavations* Vol. II pl. 104.

²⁰ For a more extensive discussion of this motive see p. 112/13.

²¹ It is possible that such lily designs are due to Cretan influence which is obvious,

With Nos. 100-103 we reach a group of sealings that depicts the "tree" as the center of the scene. Similarity in the minute execution of the finely curled volutes of the "tree" as well as in that of the twists and other patterns indicates the hand of one engraver. The scenes differ considerably. No. 100 shows the unusual motive of one bull-man grasping the "tree" and facing what appears to be a worshipper. The panel in the ancillary motives of Nos. 100 and 101 calls to mind the type of designs encountered on Nos. 23-37 of Group II. The ancillary motives of Nos. 102 and 103, showing one or two animals or monsters represented in two registers that are divided by twists or other patterns, correspond to the ancillary motives in Nos. 104-118.

On Nos. 104-108 the figure grasping the "tree" is apparently nude as in No. 101, whereas on No. 103 he wears a garment which is open in front to provide greater freedom of movement and places one foot forward, perhaps in a clumsy rendering of the ascending posture²² taken by the god on Nos. 97-99. On Nos. 106 and 107 the "tree" corresponds to that of No. 99, whereas those of Nos. 104 and 105 are similar to that of No. 97. Whether or not these relations are sufficient to indicate that Nos. 97-108 all come from the same work-shop must remain open to discussion.

No. 109 differs somewhat from the other seals assembled here by presenting a coniferous tree in place of the elaborate volute design, lily- or "bouquet-tree."

Nos. 110-120, finally, show one of the most common representations of the theme of three figures, one holding a scimitar, with a "tree" of the "bouquet-type" between two of them. Only No. 112 shows all figures with gesture of prayer (see p. 111), and No. 118 presents one of them with the gesture of supplication and the scarf which are characteristic of the suppliant goddess or priestess so frequently seen on the Nuzi sealings (see p. 112). Nos. 118-120 differ in the ancillary motives (rampant animals on No. 118 and 120 and griffin over bull with omission of separating twist on No. 119) from the other sealings of the group; moreover, Nos. 118 and 120 are smaller than the other impressions. Attention should be called to the identity of the rampant lions with a small "bouquet" between and a twist above them on No. 118 with Berlin 564, a seal found at Assur; only the postures and robes of the two figures flanking the tree differ. It is difficult, however, to make a statement concerning the possible common origin of our sealing and the cylinder from Assur, because the impression is not well enough preserved to show whether the depth of engraving observable on Berlin 564 was also present on the original of No. 118.

Despite the similarity of the other sealings, Nos. 110-117, in theme and rendering, I find it difficult to detect sufficient indication of a common source; perhaps Nos. 110 and 111 derive from the same hand, but the others appear to have been cut by different persons.

Two figures with a "tree" and varying ancillary motives engraved in the general style of Nos. 104-120 are seen on Nos. 121-146. With few exceptions these sealings are found on tablets dated to the generation of Tēhip-tilla. It is noteworthy that No. 130, an imprint on a tablet written for Tarmi-tilla, clearly manifests its origin in a different

for example, on the contemporary Mitannian pottery of Atshana-Alalakh, cf. Herzfeld, *AMI VIII* p. 158-9.

²² This ascending posture is derived from the representations of the Akkad period, where especially the rising Sun-god is depicted with one foot upon a mountain. In the subsequent periods this posture was retained and used for a variety of gods.

period by presenting unusually slim and tall figures and the unique representation of birds perched on the backs of the two confronted lions in the ancillary motive.

The gesture of the figures varies: gesture of prayer, gesture of worship, holding a scimitar, grasping the tree. Suggestions for their respective significance are made on pp. 111-3. The most frequent ancillary motives are, as on Nos. 104-117, one or two monsters or animals represented in two registers that are divided by twists or other decorative patterns. As in the foregoing group, the tails of the animals are frequently merged or crossed; crossing of the bodies is also often observed. Rows of birds (upside down on No. 133), human heads, and mannikins are likewise used to fill the space of the ancillary motive.

The most usual shape given the "tree" is the "bouquet-type," seen on Nos. 121-136. Despite the general resemblance of these designs it is not possible to find sufficient identity in small details of execution to combine them in one group of common origin.

Nos. 139 and 140, however, which show the "bouquet" reduced to three leaves or blossoms as well as similarly engraved figures and grill-pattern, were probably made by the same seal-cutter. Nos. 141-143 likewise can be distinguished as a small coherent group. This becomes quite obvious when No. 188 (where the tree has been omitted probably for lack of space), is drawn into the discussion. The type of "bouquet-tree" with three leaves seen on No. 141 is found again on Nos. 142 and 143; the row of human heads of No. 141 appears also on No. 188, and the specific type of twist seen on No. 188 recurs on No. 143.²³

Two more sealings which might come from one hand are Nos. 148 and 149. On both the "tree" is indicated by a staff supporting a disk, and a star formed by several intersecting lines adorns the middle of the staff.

The shape of the tree, which for these few examples provides the principal indication of a common source for two or more seals, cannot be used as a general criterion. Frequently the seal-cutter varied this shape on purpose to differentiate his products. On the other hand, seals presenting the same type of "tree" (other than the usual "bouquet"), such as Nos. 137 and 138 (two circles each with a large drilling in the center perhaps standing for volutes on top of the staff) or Nos. 144-147 (a pine-shaped "tree"), differ so much in all other details of design that a common origin seems impossible.

Nos. 150-181, while showing the same theme as Nos. 121-149, are differentiated by the smaller size of the sealings and consequently of the figures represented. Furthermore, the ancillary motives, with the exception of Nos. 151-156 and 166, are not framed by horizontal twists or other patterns. Although the majority of the imprints derive from the time of Tehip-tilla a certain number were found on tablets of Tarmi-tilla. The latter are distinguished by deep and often careless engraving (Nos. 159, and 177), by the occurrence of rampant horned animals depicted one behind the other or arranged symmetrically (Nos. 167-169), or by a pair of crossed, full-sized horned animals replacing the ancillary motive in two registers (No. 164). No. 163 which also shows

²³ The fact that No. 188 was found on a tablet of Enna-mati or Tarmi-tilla, while No. 141 was in use from the middle of Tehip-tilla's time onwards, must be due to secondary use of the original of No. 188. This illustrates the remark made in note 1 concerning the often questionable value of the chronology of the tablets for the dating of the seals.

the last mentioned motive is from the time of Enna-mati, at any rate, after the time of Tehip-tilla.

Nos. 172-179 show a pair of rampant lions as ancillary design, frequently with a small "bouquet" or three-leaved plant between them; on No. 172 an antelope and on No. 175 a nude female is added to fill the space. The sealings vary in quality and period as well as in the attire of the figures, who wear knee-length garments on Nos. 176 and 177. A noteworthy feature is the fact that tree on No. 178 and the "bouquet" on No. 177 are upside-down. It seems likely that the seal-cutter was trying in this manner to differentiate Nos. 177 and 178 from some similar designs. Such a procedure can be observed on some of the sealings in Group VII.

A hero raising two horned animals in triumphant gesture is depicted at the side of the two figures with "tree" on No. 171. The combination of these two themes is not found elsewhere. It may be explained by the fact that the seal belonged to a judge; seals of these officials generally show a greater degree of individuality than those of the average persons. Despite the very coarse engraving of No. 171, the "worship of the tree" and "triumph over animals" may accordingly have been expressly designed at the wish of the owner.

Another unusual secondary motive at the side of the figures with "tree" is the two nude females flanking a second tree on No. 181. Nude females with a tree occur only once, on No. 264, where they are the principal figures of the scene. It may be added that No. 181 also differs in the somewhat angular design of the human and animal figures from the general character of this group.²⁴

Nos. 182-200, all but No. 188 from the period of Tehip-tilla, show two or three tall figures carved in the style of Nos. 104-149 but lacking the tree as the center of the scene. On Nos. 182, 187, 189, 190 and 200 a cluster of drillings, scroll, or rosette placed in the upper field may have been regarded as sufficient indication of the tree, which was omitted for lack of space. This seems to be supported by the close similarity of No. 187 with No. 108, which indicates that both seals were engraved by the same seal-cutter; another example is No. 188, which belongs to the group of Nos. 141-143 (see p. 20).

On most of the sealings of this group the principal personage is a figure with scimitar for which I have suggested interpretation as a slayer of animals (see p. 18). On Nos. 182, 197 and 198 this figure is duplicated probably for reasons of symmetry. No. 197 presents an interesting ancillary motive for this scene. Turned at right angles to the rest of the representation a god is pictured surrounded by all the different kinds of animals which, as we know from the Assyrian representations, were hunted in Northern Mesopotamia: lion, wild bull, antelope and fox.²⁵ Another unusual ancillary motive is found on No. 198. Rampant lions are flanking an antelope with two other antelopes placed above them. Probably these lions were meant to menace the horned animals. Such ancillary motives with implied violence of action occur rarely at the side of scenes which center around a "tree" (although drawn on a small scale on No. 198, the "tree" nevertheless appears as the center of the principal representation). In the present

²⁴ This reference to the "general character of the group" does not imply assumption of common origin for Nos. 150-180; on the contrary, only Nos. 150-154 show in the star placed in the lower part of the staff or stem of the "tree" a common feature which might indicate derivation from the same source; all other imprints vary considerably.

²⁵ Only the wild horse is missing.

collection of sealings from Nuzi only Nos. 284 and 315 show related ancillary motives at the side of a scene with the "tree,"²⁰ whereas all others contain entirely static representations.

An unusual representation is seen on No. 196, where the figure in the center of a group of three extends wings that replace her arms. While the actual shape of this figure was probably derived from such Syrian designs (ultimately of Egyptian origin) as Morgan 979 and 991, its significance here remains obscure.

Two more imprints with unusual features may be mentioned, Nos. 199 and 199a. The first shows an inscription, a rare feature on seals of the groups at present under discussion; the second presents in the confronted suppliants and the god behind them a hitherto unparalleled representation.

One figure with a tree engraved in the general style of the present group is seen on Nos. 201-214. These sealings derive from the earliest Nuzi tablets (Winnirke) to the latest (Tarmi-tilla) and permit us to distinguish certain stylistic changes that occurred within these generations.

No. 201, from a tablet probably written for Tehip-tilla's mother Winnirke, shows a tall figure at the side of the "tree" and a rosette formed by intersecting lines in the ancillary motive. A related decorative design is produced on No. 202, from an early Tehip-tilla tablet, where these lines are crossed with the staff of the tree, which they thus adorn with a star-like design. Again the figure standing at the side of the "tree" is exceptionally tall, and the body of the rampant bull at the other side of the "tree" is correspondingly elongated. Nos. 201 and 202 thus appear to be so closely related that they might come from the same hand.

No. 203, likewise impressed on an early Tehip-tilla tablet, conforms in the height of the seal to the two foregoing examples but presents the pair of animals framed by horizontal patterns which are so frequent on middle and late Tehip-tilla sealings; the bull's head between the antelopes somewhat recalls No. 183.

Nos. 206 and 207 are smaller in size, showing again the usual type of ancillary motive on the seals of this time, middle and late Tehip-tilla.

No. 208, a late Enna-mati sealing, shows less care, and the heads of the animals in the ancillary motive are merged into one; Nos. 210 and 212, the first from Enna-mati's time or later, the second from Tarmi-tilla's time, show full-sized animals with crossed bodies as seen on Nos. 163 and 164; No. 213 from the time of Enna-mati or Tarmi-tilla shows the same rampant horned animals, one standing behind the other as Nos. 167 and 168, both from the time of Tarmi-tilla.

No. 214 likewise an impression on a tablet of Tarmi-tilla shows a lion pursuing a horned animal. As in the ancillary motives of the scenes centering around the "tree" the additional full-sized figures in such scenes are not usually portrayed in violent action on those sealings which derive from Tehip-tilla's time.

GROUP IV (Pls. XIII-XV, Nos. 215-264)

This group, mostly from the time of Tehip-tilla, comprises scenes showing a seated figure with "bouquet-tree," Nos. 215-222; one figure with "bouquet-tree" in ascending or semi-kneeling posture, Nos. 223-242; two figures with

²⁰ On these two sealings, however, the principal attackers are lion-dragons.

"bouquet-tree," standing or in semi-kneeling posture, usually with crossed legs and thus characterized as dancers, Nos. 243-263; and two females at the side of the tree, No. 264. With the exception of the seated figure, who may be a deity (see p. 112), and who is clad in a plain robe, the figures are nude except for a girdle and round cap with upturned brim. In general, the engraving corresponds to that of the sealings in Group III but a greater roundness and depth of relief may be noted here.

Nos. 215-242 include sealings of all three generations. Nos. 243-264 derive mostly from the time of Tehip-tilla. The ancillary motives of these sealings show the characteristics of the different periods which could already be discerned on the impressions of Group III. A pair of animals and a twist are the most frequent designs on the sealings of Tehip-tilla's time (for example Nos. 215, 225-227); full-sized crossed animals are characteristic of sealings on tablets from the later time of Enna-mati to Tarmi-tilla (examples are Nos. 219 and 234-237); two horned rampant animals, one behind the other, are typical of the late imprints of Tarmi-tilla's time (for example Nos. 220 and 221).

A connection between the representations of the seated figure with a "tree" and those of two persons with crossed legs grasping a "tree," is presented by No. 243 where the latter motive is combined with a seated figure. Owing to the fact that the seal-cutter apparently wanted to represent no more than one tree on this scene, the seated figure on No. 243, holds an animal and is thus differentiated from the renderings on Nos. 215-222.

The most interesting feature of this group is the posture of the two figures holding the "tree" presumably a maypole (see p. 111). On No. 243, for example, each figure kneels on one knee and stretches the other leg forward crossing it with that of the other figure. On No. 257 the two figures have spread their feet far apart instead of kneeling on one knee; the foot put forward again crosses that of the confronted figure. Another posture is represented on No. 246, where each figure stretches one leg forward, setting the heel on the ground and touching with his toes those of his opponent. A fourth posture is seen on No. 262, where both figures wear long garments, open in front, and place one foot forward, one figure setting his raised foot on that of the other. The first three postures can still be observed in modern folk-dances;²⁷ the fourth may be a more static representation of this dance or an adaptation of the ascending posture to these representations of figures dancing with the maypole.

Aside from the similarity of the postures with those of modern folk-dances, the representation on a mould from Mari (*Syria* XVIII, 1937 pl. XII: 2) proves that we have indeed dances with a maypole or equivalent emblem before us. There four figures (instead of two) are represented in the posture in which they are seen on No. 281 of our next group, hopping on one foot and throwing the other forward so as to cross that of the next figure. Each holds a vase from which a plant is growing. No more obvious representation of a "rain-making" and "plant-growing" dance could be desired!

²⁷ This fact is so obvious that Contenau "Les Tablettes de Kerkouk," (*Babyloniaca* IX, 1926 p. 143 designates such figures on fig. 113 without further comment as dancers.

No. 263, showing what is probably a nude female at the side of the two figures with the "tree," forms a link with No. 264, where two female figures replace the male dancers at the side of the "tree." It is noteworthy that no attempt is made to show these females in any action relating to the "tree" which is in striking contrast to the representation of the male figures with that symbol.

GROUP V (Pls. XV-XVI, Nos. 265-291)

This is the first of four groups, predominantly from Tehip-tilla's time, which present the themes of the larger, less carefully cut seals in minute and painstaking execution. Two apparently nude figures with "bouquet-tree," crossing legs, as on Nos. 243-263, are most frequently represented here. Impressions showing variations of this scheme have been added. In several instances the figures are characterized by horned mitres as deities.

The principal features which distinguish this group from the foregoing seals, Nos. 243-263, are the small size and the minute and rounded execution. The ancillary motives are the same as those encountered in Groups III and IV: pairs of animals, especially bulls, couchant with crossed tails (e. g. Nos. 265, 268, 271, as on Nos. 143 and 161), a row of human heads (No. 265 as on Nos. 141 and 188) a row of mannikins (No. 285 as on No. 135) a pair of antelopes placed head downward (No. 267 as on No. 215), etc. Distinctive features, however, are the row of hands,²⁸ No. 281, and the manner in which as on No. 93, the wing of the griffin and winged lion is indicated by two oblique lines, Nos. 267 and 268.²⁹ Unusually violent action in the ancillary motive is presented by No. 284; the representation of bulls with interlocked horns in the lower register may be due to the specific trait of Mitannian glyptic which caused the crossing and entwining of designs; it may also represent, however, a realistic rendering of a contest between two bulls. Two sealings, Nos. 279 and 280, show the principal figures turned 90°. This may be due to the desire of the engraver of this closely related group to avoid too great a similarity between his products. Seals cut with the vertical axis of the design running around the cylinder occasionally occur at all periods³⁰ but are more numerous in Nuzi glyptic.

A few sealings which show the same type of engraving but somewhat different versions of the theme "figures with tree" have been included here. No. 283 presents two figures in semi-kneeling posture but without crossing feet, and Nos. 284-287 show them standing on either side of the tree, which they grasp. Nos. 288-290 show only one semi-kneeling figure with the "bouquet-tree," and No. 290 presents this figure as a winged genie.

²⁸ On Syrian representations, hands are frequently placed singly in the field or in a heap together with heads, as for example on Ashmolean 154 and Morgan 935.

²⁹ These wings were misinterpreted as a leash by Miss B. Parker in her discussion of the cylinder Lachish II pl. 33. A, B: 45 (text p. 73)

³⁰ E. g. the Akkad cylinder RA XXIX pl. II: 3, the Babylon I cylinder Morgan 370 and the Syrian cylinders Morgan 955 and Southesk Qd. 5.

No. 290a shows one of the figures holding a scimitar and standing with one leg swinging forward. Whether or not they are actually grasping a "bouquet" cannot be ascertained, because part of the sealing is obliterated. The style of the imprint, however, conforms to the rest of this group which justifies the inclusion of No. 290a here. Also the worshipper standing at the side and the inscription are unusual features on this type of sealing.

No. 291 likewise shows a deviation from the scheme: the two men, each raising one leg and grasping it with his hand, are turned 90° and placed at the sides of two nude females who flank a vertical column of drillings. The "bouquet-tree" is transferred to the ancillary motive and placed between two antelopes. The similarity in the manner of engraving, however, as well as the posture of the men, which is again taken from the dance,³¹ seems to link No. 291 to these scenes featuring "the dance with the maypole."

It remains to be noted that on Nos. 265, 268, and 272 the figures wear horned mitres and are thus characterized as deities.

GROUP VI (Pls. XVI-XVII, Nos. 292-311)

The motive encountered in Group III, namely one to three standing figures with a "tree" as the center of the scene, is the subject of Group VI. It is executed in the careful, rounded manner of Group V. The figures are small and squat, the "tree" is invariably of the bouquet type. The seals were probably all made of paste or fayence. This is the material of the cylinder Newell 290 the design of which is almost identical with our No. 293. The impressions in this group are with one, or possibly two exceptions from Tehiptilla's time.

The relation in the manner of engraving between the sealings of this and of the foregoing group is so close that many of the cylinders were probably the work of one seal-cutter. For example, the semi-kneeling figure of a god (turned 90°) in the ancillary motive of No. 302 is identical with the figures seen on No. 265 of the foregoing group. It seems extremely likely that both seals were made by the same engraver.

No. 302, the sealing just mentioned, shows a noteworthy feature in the figures at the side of the tree. They wear tall pointed mitres and long scarfs hanging at the back. This and the gesture of supplication characterize them as suppliant goddesses. This is a variation from the usual representations in this group which show figures with round caps, presumably human worshippers. Another such variation from the usual scheme is presented by No. 303 where horned mitres distinguish the figures at

³¹ In discussing these representations of dancing figures contained in the Nuzi material, Professor Curt Sachs drew my attention to the fact that this posture is characteristic of the limp-dance which is usually connected with lunar conceptions. Whether or not such a connection with moon-dances should also be assumed for the present representations must remain undecided at this time.

the side of the "tree" as gods. It is interesting to note that this is the only differentiating detail between Nos. 303 and 297; on the latter the figures wear the usual headgears.

Nos. 305 and 306 have been included here because their rounded engraving and the squatness of the figures conform to the character of the present group and differ sharply from those in Group III.

No. 307 deviates from the usual representations of this theme by presenting both figures with their heads turned in the same direction, Nos. 308 and 309 by showing three instead of two figures with the tree. In No. 308 all figures are represented with clasped hands and are attired in the same manner as the other figures on the standard imprints of this group. The inscription replacing the ancillary motive is unusual on sealings of this group. The second impression, No. 309, shows one figure armed with a scimitar and clad in a bordered mantle, while the personage on the other side of the tree is attired in a many-tiered robe.

On Nos. 310 and 311 the "tree" has been omitted, perhaps for lack of space. It may be noted, however, that No. 311 shows an ancillary motive with numerous small animals and monsters, which differs radically from the ancillary motives on the other impressions. If we assume that these other impressions which are all so closely related, came from one work-shop, it seems likely that No. 311 derived from a different source.

GROUP VII (Pls. XVII-XVIII Nos. 312-351)

This group of small, carefully engraved cylinders, mostly from the time of Tehip-tilla, shows as the most frequent scheme two figures at the side of a "tree." The principal difference between the designs of this and those of the foregoing group lies in the slender proportions of the figures (frequently seen with the scarf and gesture of the suppliant goddess) and in the variety of shapes given the "tree" on the imprints of the present group.³²

Also included in this group are Nos. 349-351, larger sealings with the ancillary motive transferred to a narrow upper register. The engraving of the figures as well as of the animals and monsters of the ancillary motives is identical with that of the rest of this group.

On Nos. 312-315 the "tree" topped by the usual "bouquet" renders in the stem the sheathing of petioles which is distinctive of the palm-tree. On Nos. 316-322 the "tree" is given the shape of a coniferous plant, perhaps a pine tree; the same plant is upside-down on Nos. 323-331. On No. 332 and probably No. 335 a staff composed partly of globes and showing two short parallel lines (perhaps indicating wings) replaces the "tree"; it is inverted on Nos. 333, 334, and 336.

The ancillary motives of this group use the same designs as Group V. The pair of

³² An original cylinder belonging to this group is Lachish II pl. 33 A, B: 45, mentioned in note 29.

mannikins on Nos. 312, 313, and 345, however, as well as the pair of animals with merged hindquarters supporting wings on a staff, Nos. 314 and 332, are distinctive designs of this group.

Somewhat diverging imprints are Nos. 315 and 316. The former shows an unusually free composition in the ancillary motive, where a figure turned at right angles raises a lion-griffin by the hindlegs. The latter presents somewhat larger and broader figures than those usually seen on the designs of this group.

A number of imprints showing variations of the scheme represented on Nos. 312-339 have been included here: Nos. 340 and 341, depicting the same ancillary motive as No. 320, present seated instead of standing figures with a "bouquet-tree." No. 342 is badly preserved but appears to show a third figure enlarging the standard scheme of this group. Nos. 343 and 344, both depicting an inverted animal between the figures, have been placed here because of their obvious stylistic relation with the present group. Both sealings, however, are impressed on tablets written at the end of the Nuzi period. It is therefore possible that the cylinders were engraved at that time. In that case, we would have to assume that the seal-cutter tried to imitate the style of this group of Tehip-tilla period sealings, but that he chose a subject which had by then become more common than the scenes with "bouquet-tree."

On No. 345 only the stem of the tree is recognizable; whether a full-sized tree was represented or a very small one as on No. 347, is not ascertainable. The sealing so closely corresponds to Nos. 312 and 313, however, that it can be assumed to have been made by the same engraver.

No. 347, showing a figure with scimitar and suppliant goddess rendered as on the foregoing sealing, is differentiated from the rest of the group by the minute "tree" between the figures and the occurrence of a second suppliant goddess behind the figure with scimitar. The ancillary motive is very unusual, presenting a wheel formed by two bulls and two winged lions.

No. 348 shows two suppliant goddesses approaching the figure with scimitar. It may be noted that, as, for example, on No. 187, a rosette appears in the sky, probably in place of the omitted tree. The ancillary motive of two confronted sphinxes over two ibexes is somewhat unusual; perhaps this seal is like Nos. 343 and 344 a later imitation rather than a genuine product of the present group.

Three impressions, Nos. 349-351, have been joined to this group. They are far larger than Nos. 312-348, and present five and more figures, and the ancillary motive is transferred to a narrow upper register. The engraving, however, is the same as on the foregoing imprints and the designs of the ancillary motives are identical. For example, the lion with wings indicated by oblique lines on No. 349 corresponds to Nos. 331 and 333 and the bulls with crossed tails on No. 351 are like those on Nos. 326, 329, 340 and 341. No. 350 presents two confronted stags with heads lowered in a realistic rendering of the fighting pose of these animals.

On Nos. 349 and 350 the center of the scene is a "tree" showing a miniature rendering of the type seen on No. 92. On No. 351 the tree is omitted, but we again find a rosette in the sky as on Nos. 347 and 348. Three types of figures can be distinguished on Nos. 349-351: the figure with scimitar wearing a round cap with upturned brim (at the side of the tree on No. 349 and menacing an antelope on No. 351), the suppliant goddess wearing a pointed mitre and scarf, and a second deity wearing a mitre with a pair of broadly curved horns.

GROUP VIII (Pl. XIX, Nos. 352-374)

A row of mannikins with crossed legs, probably performing a battle dance (see p. 116-118), and varying ancillary motives are seen in this group. The impressions made with cylinders all carefully executed and showing a remarkably uniform style, belong with a few exceptions to the period of Tehip-tilla. Those found on later tablets manifest some slight changes in the designs.

The ancillary motives partly correspond to those of Groups V-VII; for example, the elaborate twist pattern of No. 365 is identical in design and execution with that of No. 276, and the crossed bulls of Nos. 356 and 357 correspond to those of No. 294. On the other hand, the lion attacking a gazelle, a motive not encountered on the foregoing "scenes with the tree," is repeatedly seen on sealings of the present group (Nos. 352-354).

A significant variation in the ancillary motive is introduced on No. 370, which presents a "tree" with ribbon-volutes (see p. 114), flanked by a pair of antelopes. This design is most frequently used on sealings from the time of Enna-mati. The fact that No. 370 is impressed on a tablet of that period may therefore be taken as an indication that it was of slightly later origin than the bulk of the group. The same may be true of No. 371, from a tablet from the time of Tarmi-tilla, where the ancillary motive presents a bull and ibex with merged bodies, a hitherto unparalleled representation.

No. 372 shows the mannikins (turned 90°), in combination with rows of lions, animal heads, and a row of hands. This representation recalls such Syro-Cappadocian cylinders as BN 280.³³ Sealings like Nos. 373 and 374, which present an inscription in place of the ancillary motive, are unusual in this group. No. 374 is exceptionally crudely engraved, a fact which is all the more astonishing since the seal belonged to Taia, the scribe who counted some of the best engraved seal-stones of Nuzi, such as those impressed on Nos. 522 and 523a, among his collection.

No. 373 shows the mannikins in a variation of the usual posture and rendering, presenting them with pointed caps, one arm raised, and one leg thrown backwards, apparently leaping in a dance. In my opinion this representation proves beyond doubt that the mannikins in rows are depicted in a group dance (see p. 117).

GROUP IX (Pls. XIX-XXI, Nos. 375-413)

The principal subject of this group, represented on Nos. 375-407, is the same as that of the foregoing group, namely a row of men presumably performing a battle dance. The present sealings, however, are larger and show a coarser manner of engraving. The figures are often rendered with the utmost schematization and ancillary motives are omitted in most cases. Joined to this group are sealings which show nude females in rows, Nos. 409-

³³ As implied in note 28, no Syrian representations show hands in a row, although they are often found as filling motives in the field.

413. A transitional representation between these two motives is presented by No. 408 which shows three male and one female figure. The impressions of this group cover all three generations from Tehip-tilla to Tarmi-tilla.

On most of the impressions of this group the bodies of the men are engraved in the most rudimentary manner. Greater care in the execution, however, is shown by Nos. 391 and 395-405.³⁴ Twists and other common ancillary designs are added to the rows on Nos. 395-398a. Nos. 399-408 present the rows in combination with other motives. No. 399 shows at the side of the row a pole with wings flanked by two antelopes; on No. 404 a stag is placed beside the men. It seems unlikely, however, that these additional designs were meant to amplify the meaning of the row. Nos. 400-403, on the other hand, may have a different meaning owing to the combination of the row of men with other figures. No. 400, for example shows a second row over the one in the lower part of the sealing. A sphinx and antelope also appear in this scene. Whether this indicates a specific meaning such as the rendering of a group dance in which two rows are facing each other (cf. Sachs, WHD p. 155) or whether the second row and additional designs were merely added to fill the space, must be left open to discussion. Another variation of the subject is shown on Nos. 401-403. A tall figure, probably a god is represented with a tree at the side of the row on Nos. 401 and 402 and stands with clasped hands on No. 403. Perhaps these scenes render some mythological concept such as a god with his army. This may be supported by the shape of the mens' head-gear on No. 403, which appears to be a pointed cap, presumably an abbreviation of the horned mitre worn by the gods. In this case No. 395 may also have to be regarded as presenting a row of minor gods.³⁵

The device of turning the mannikins 90° because of exigencies of space, previously encountered on No. 372 of the foregoing group, is also used here on No. 405 and 406. No. 407 presents an extremely abbreviated rendering of these figures, which are dissolved in such manner as to resemble abstract patterns.

On No. 408 the ancillary motive, a female facing antelopes and a tree, is turned upside down. Here the seal-cutter may have wished to separate the two motives by placing them in different directions.

The representation of nude females in rows, Nos. 409-413, differs from the rows of men by showing them invariably turned at right angles. On p. 118 below, I attempt to explain this striking feature by the fact that these females were meant to be shown in a different formation than the men, not in rows as in the battle dances but in a circle, a dance formation which is often found in dances performed by women (e.g. Sachs, WHD p. 117). The curiously bent over posture of the females on No. 413 (where they may also be turned at a right angle), further supports this theory of a representation of women in fertility dances.³⁶

³⁴ On Nos. 391 and 398 the ends of the girdle are indicated between the legs of the figures. This is an abbreviated rendering of designs like No. 92 where the tassels and cords are clearly differentiated.

³⁵ It seems possible that this "row of minor gods" should be related to the rock-sculptures of Yazilikaya (cf. K. Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya*, Istanbul Forschungen, Bd. 5, 69-80, 71-73).

³⁶ The only precedent for rows of female figures is found on a painted sherd from

GROUP X (Pls. XXI-XXIII, Nos. 414-466)

The sealings of this group generally show squat figures with rampant animals engraved in a rounded, none too careful manner. Frequently a row of animals is placed above or below the figures. The date of these sealings varies, but certain motives and details of design appear to predominate in the different periods. Thus the menace of rampant animals, the principal motive of Nos. 414-427 is found mostly on tablets of Tehip-tilla. Among the later sealings in this section of the group Nos. 426 and 427 are noteworthy for their small size. Triumph over animals (expressed by the gesture of raising the victim by the hindlegs), illustrated on Nos. 428-433, and the nude female portrayed among the figures standing above a row of animals (Nos. 434-440) are often found on tablets of Enna-mati. The processions, Nos. 441-466, derive in the main from the later part of the Nuzi period. They include figures alternating with rampant animals, Nos. 441-453, processions advancing toward the animals of the altar-like ancillary motive, Nos. 454-460, and rows of warriors and huntsmen, Nos. 461-466. The material of the cylinders was undoubtedly fayence or glazed steatite, as can be deduced from the extant stones belonging to this group.³⁷

Nos. 414-417, 419, and perhaps 424 and 426 present a personage holding a scimitar and menacing a rampant animal while facing a suppliant. On Nos. 421, 422, and 425 the scimitar in the hand of that personage is omitted. On other sealings, Nos. 418, 420 and 427, figures are depicted in various postures contesting with or merely confronting rampant animals. The female suppliant in these scenes is often a goddess characterized as such by her flounced robe. Other figures wearing only the scarf or stola that usually hangs down the back of the suppliant goddess, may be priestesses, because the scarf appears to be a ritual piece of apparel and therefore probably one of the insignia of priesthood. Female figures with such scarves seen, for example, on Nos. 414-417 and 419, are therefore referred to as priestesses throughout the present work (see also p. 112). Figures of worshippers, additional rampant animals, such as the pair of rampant lions on Nos. 419, 426 and 427, or the rampant antelopes on Nos. 419 and 421 and filling motives, monsters and animals in different postures, usually enlarge the scene.

Nos. 428-433 show a hero, usually nude and wearing a round cap with upturned brim, raising animals by the hindlegs in a gesture of triumph. Worshippers, rampant animals, and other filling motives are again added to the representation of this principal figure.

Tchechme Ali (MDP XX p. 118 Fig. 24: 1). Whether or not that representation should be interpreted as a ritual dance and ultimately as the source of our dances remains unknown at present.

³⁷ E. g. Louvre A 952, Berlin 571.

Nos. 434-440 show sealings prominently featuring a nude female among the figures who stand above a row of animals, and who usually include a figure with scimitar and suppliants. The most interesting representation of this nude female is seen on Nos. 434 and 435; in both instances she carries an ear of barley or stalk of another plant over her shoulder and might thus be connected with the constellation Virgo.³⁸

Nos. 441*-453 show two or more figures alternating with rampant animals turning their heads in the same direction. No. 441, from the time of Tehip-tilla, shows larger figures wearing their hair in a carefully executed chignon; the other sealings of this group which come from the later Nuzi period merely show a mop of hair hanging down.³⁹

Nos. 448-453 appear to have been cut by the same hand, showing a similarly angular design of the human heads and the animals' horns. Nos. 448 and 451 are on tablets belonging to the period of Enna-mati, the rest on tablets of Tarmi-tilla. We may therefore assume that this particular engraver began to work during Enna-mati's lifetime and continued into the next generation of Nuzi. This shows how blurred the division of the material in the generations of Nuzi becomes at times.

The most interesting detail among the impressions of this group is the zig-zag line ending in the antlers of a stag on No. 451. It seems possible that this design was meant for a snake with the head of a stag as found on Morgan 1102 (a cylinder with a hieroglyphic Hittite inscription, probably from the 8th-7th century B.C.). Perhaps we may apply to this representation of a stag-headed snake the theory of Contenau⁴⁰

³⁸ This constellation is mentioned in the text *mul-apin* (Bezold, *Zenit- und equatorialgestirne am babylonischen Firmamenthimmel* p. 22 Col. II/10) as the ear of corn, (constellation of) the goddess Šala. Šala, furthermore, is the consort of the Weather-god and is represented as a nude female on the cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty. The close connection of the nude female with the symbols of Adad the Weather-god, on Morgan 503-506, makes it very likely that Ward, SC p. 176-178, was correct in assuming that she should be regarded as Šala, Adad's consort. This is further corroborated by the inscription on Morgan 506 which reads *dAdad dŠala* and shows in the field the lightning fork of Adad at the side of the nude female as objects of worship. The fact mentioned by Frankfort (CS p. 160) that on the seals of the Akkad period Šala is (likewise) depicted in the nude, supports this contention. (Akkad seals presumably showing Šala are Morgan 220, Berlin 233, AJ XIV pl. XLII: u 18922 and Louvre A 154). On the Late Babylonian (Seleucid) Hypsomata picture, AfO IV Tafel V AO 6448, Virgo is depicted as a goddess in flounced robe carrying an ear of barley. Provided that on our Nuzi sealing the plant which the nude female carries was intended to portray an ear of barley, our seal designs may mark the transition from the earlier to the later representations of the goddess whose constellation was Virgo.

³⁹ This may be due either to the simplification of the designs by the later engravers or to an actual change in hairdress to the fashion which can be observed on the Middle and Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian monuments.

⁴⁰ Cf. Contenau op. cit. p. 94 "Le cerf est devenu en Asie Mineure et en Haute-Syrie un équivalent du Taureau du Grand Dieu de la Végétation." Recent discoveries in Anatolia, however, have shown that the stag played a considerable role already in the 3d Millennium B.C. For the latest report on these excavations cf. Ill. London News, July 21st, 1945 p. 81 fig. 18.

that in Asia Minor and North Syria the stag was the equivalent of the bull. The snake monster with the head of a stag would thus be synonymous with the snake with bull's head seen on No. 738 and found again on Neo-Assyrian representations (see p. 122).

Nos. 454-460 show rows of figures advancing towards the animals or monsters of the ancillary motives. On Nos. 456, 458, and 459 these animals (or monsters) are arranged in such a manner as to give the impression of forming an altar (see note 210). This is especially true of No. 458, where a winged disk on a pole (or an abbreviated bird) appears in the sky above the confronted antelopes.

On No. 460 only one animal appears to be represented, but the pointed caps of the figures correspond to those of No. 459; therefore the sealing has been included here.

To this group have been added a number of impressions which show a row of warriors or huntsmen, Nos. 461-466. On Nos. 461 and 462 the figures carry weapons over their shoulders and are represented in a parade or in a battle dance (see p. 116-8). On Nos. 463-466 they raise animals in a gesture of triumph. Nos. 461-463 are engraved in the general style of this group, whereas Nos. 464-466 (which may have been cut by one person because they show very similar engraving) present more slender figures which recall, in their proportions, Group VII.

GROUP XI (Pls. XXIII-XXIV, Nos. 467-491)

The unifying feature of the present group is the similarity of the ancillary motives, which present a pair of horned animals flanking a "tree" with ribbon-volutes (see p. 114). This is so striking that it may exemplify the tradition of a specific work-shop in spite of the variety in the principal motives and the differences in the dates of the tablets on which these imprints are found. A few, such as No. 474, are from the period of Tehip-tilla; No. 474 is carefully executed and shows the type of squat figures encountered in Group VI. A larger number of the sealings, however, comes from Enna-mati's and Tarmi-tilla's time. These sealings, of which Nos. 467-473 are characteristic examples, show more slender and elongated figures, frequently executed with less care.

The themes of this group include processions of suppliants or worshippers towards the "tree" flanked by a pair of horned animals, Nos. 467-473; warriors in a procession towards the same goal, No. 474; a suppliant surrounded by rampant animals, No. 475; worship of a nude female, No. 476; gods (characterized by their pointed mitres) triumphing over animals, again at the side of the "tree," Nos. 477*, 478 (and perhaps 479); god and worshipper, over a row of animals, Nos. 480-482; and finally, the ancillary motive alone, Nos. 485-491. The latter motive, however, is not encountered on the earlier tablets of the period.

Nos. 483* and 484 may be treated separately because their motives deserve special attention. No. 483* is a representation in two registers. The figures in the upper register (personage with scimitar, menacing a rampant lion and suppliant goddess) correspond in theme and rendering to such sealings as Nos. 417 or 419 of the foregoing

group; the rampant antelopes are engraved in the same manner as those of No. 458, and the semi-kneeling figure turned 90° further enlarges the scene. In the lower register the antelopes flanking the tree may be taken as the principal motive. At the right of this group are a lion and a bull, one above the other, at the left a bull's head and a horse. This is the first time that a horse is represented in Mesopotamian art among the symbolical animals of a design. This role of the horse can be explained by the importance which the horse assumed in the Mitannian kingdom.⁴¹

No. 484, an impression of the time of Tarmi-tilla, is interesting because the motive, a small semi-kneeling personage with a bird perched on either hand seen between two tall figures, is not paralleled elsewhere.

We may finally remark that most of the sealings contained in this group present a row of animals, usually with bent legs in a posture here interpreted as kneeling; this row of animals is placed either above or below the principal scene.

GROUP XII (Pls. XXIV-XXV, Nos. 492-527)

This group, is characterized by the simple and graceful outlines given the figures. Secondly, the figures appear to be tall and slender, thus showing relation with the types represented in Group VII. Lastly, the frequent representation of deities and sphinxes with pointed mitres is distinctive of this group. Nos. 492-496 show tall figures with a "tree" or rampant animals. Nos. 497-509 show additional characteristics in the frequent division of the design into two registers and the often symmetrical and coherent composition of large groups of figures. Nos. 510-517 show gods and heroes in violent combat with animals. Nos. 518-527 are distinguished by the inclusion of figures in acrobatic postures. Most of the sealings are from the time of Tehip-tilla and Enna-mati.

The first sealing of this group, No. 492, deviates from the theme of "two figures with a tree," as represented on Nos. 121-181 of Group III, by showing the figures with the gesture and the scarf of the suppliant goddess with which they are frequently represented on the small and carefully executed sealings of Group VII. "Tree" and type of antelope on No. 493 are identical with those of No. 492; it seems likely therefore that both seals were made by the same engraver.⁴² It may be further noted that on No. 493 both figures face in the same direction, a marked deviation from the usual scheme of "two figures with tree," where they are confronted. Perhaps the seal-cutter who produced these designs sought to bring variation into his products. Antelopes, rendered as on Nos. 492 and 493 are found on Nos. 494* and 495*, which may have

⁴¹ Cf. B. Hrozný, "L'Entraînement des chevaux chez les anciens Indo-Européens d'après un texte mitannien-hittite provenant du 14e siècle av. J.-C." (*Archiv Orientalni* III, 1931), 431 ff.

⁴² The fact that the cylinder of No. 493 was impressed on a tablet of Tarmi-tilla must once again be due to the secondary use of the seal-stone.

been made by the person who carved the first two cylinders of this group. Distinctive of these sealings is their large size as well as the pointed mitre of the goddess. No. 496 has been joined to this small group because of the similarity of the figures, especially the antelopes; but the sealing is only partly preserved, and its classification must therefore remain uncertain.

Nos. 497-512, show again the simplicity and gracefulness of the animal bodies (chiefly of the antelopes), as well as the pointed mitres of deities (also seen on the heads of the sphinxes). Other distinctive features are the frequent division of the design into two registers and the often coherent composition of large groups of figures.

No. 497 manifests all the characteristics just described including the division into two registers. In the lower register we find an extremely interesting representation. A god (characterized by his pointed mitre) partakes of a repast. Approaching him are three warriors; at the back of the throne stands a servant(?) carrying an indefinable object, perhaps an animal. A nude bearded hero wrestling with a lion is added to the scene. The scene appears to portray an audience granted by the god on the occasion of a ceremonial repast. Probably this ceremony conformed closely to those taking place in the royal palace. This may be borne out by the representation on a cylinder from Alişar (OIP XXIX fig. 246, CS pl. XLIII a), where a royal audience seems to be depicted.⁴³ We may therefore tentatively conclude that the repast of which the Assyrian king partook in the presence of his courtiers, and which appears to have had some specific ritual significance,⁴⁴ was, according to the evidence of No. 497, a tradition derived from the Mitannian era.

Whether or not the representation of the nude hero engaged in a heroic contest both on No. 497 and on the cylinder from Alişar is accidental, or whether that contest was brought into some specific relation with the god (and the king), is difficult to decide. Moreover, it is impossible to state whether or not the representation in the upper register of No. 497, the ibex, winged lion, and sphinx as well as the row of marching men, have any symbolical connection with the representation in the lower register.

No. 498, the imprint of one of the seals of Ith-apiše, the scribe, is among those most frequently found on the tablets from Nuzi in Chicago. It shows symmetrical composition in both registers and minute care in the execution of the design. In order to provide for a pleasantly varied picture the artist has gone to pains to represent divergent types of horned animals, ibex, antelope, and stag, each with different kind of horns or antlers. The presence of the inscription is unique among the sealings of this group.

Nos. 499, 500 and possibly 501, all show approximately the subject seen in the upper register of No. 498, namely, a personage with scimitar menacing rampant animals and forming the object of adoration by suppliant goddesses.⁴⁵ These sealings are so closely related in style that they may be regarded as the work of the same seal cutter.

⁴³ This is the interpretation offered by Frankfort, CS p. 281, who observes, however, that it is also possible that gods are here depicted. Both the scene of No. 497 and that of the cylinder from Alişar depict the enthroned figure holding a cup and surrounded or approached by figures carrying scimitars. On our sealing they carry them over their shoulders, as on No. 474, in contrast to the cylinder, where they hold them in the usual manner, pointing downwards.

⁴⁴ Cf. Weidner, AfO X p. 10 and p. 24.

⁴⁵ The rather unusual figure of a god holding an axe upright in one hand and probably a scimitar in the other is added on No. 499.

Symmetrical composition is found again on No. 502. There the god brandishing a spear at the back of the rampant lion balances well with the figure of a god or hero raising an animal at the opposite end of the group. The representation in the lower register: two figures raising their hands towards "wings on a pole" as the central motive of the scene is repeatedly found on sealings of this group (see Nos. 506-508).

On No. 503 the two dancers (characterized as such by the posture of their feet, which are crossed) present a variation of the scheme as depicted in Groups IV and V. Instead of grasping the "tree" as in the scenes previously encountered, the dancers here raise their hands in worship before the extremely abbreviated rendering of a plant. The style of this sealing corresponds closely to that of Berlin 575,⁴⁶ a cylinder which belongs to this group.

The only noteworthy feature on No. 504 is the graceful posture of the bull, who raises one forefoot in an attitude found again on Neo-Babylonian cylinders.⁴⁷

A remarkable design is found on No. 505*. The central figure is a two-faced demon who raises on each side an animal by the hindleg; ⁴⁸ in the upper field he is flanked by an ibex and horse. This portion of the design shows the vertical composition which is one of the most characteristic features of Mitannian glyptic (see also p. 103 and note 212). The unusual figure of the double-headed demon may owe its creation to the engraver's desire for a symmetrical central figure; it may also, however, have been derived from the double-faced minister of the water-god Ea, whose representation was abandoned in Mesopotamia after the Sargonid period, but survived on the impressions found on Cappadocian tablets.⁴⁹ For the representation of the horse among these symbolic designs, cf. the comment on No. 483* (see p. 33).

No. 506 closely resembles the scene in the lower register of No. 502. The posture of the ibex, who seems to be leaping or falling, is somewhat unusual.

On No. 507 wings on a short pole are supported by a nude figure, probably depicted in semi-kneeling posture like the genius who supports the winged disk on No. 749. On either side of this figure is a suppliant goddess. Perhaps the bull represented above the wings should not be regarded merely as a filling motive, but should also be drawn into relation with this central group. If the wings can be taken as a symbol of heaven,⁵⁰ the bull which is frequently seen in connection with the Sun-god on seals of the First Babylonian Dynasty (e.g. Morgan 399⁵¹) may likewise have some celestial significance. It may finally be noted that on No. 507 both the "wings on a pole" and

⁴⁶ Compare especially the outlines of the nude females on cylinder and sealing!

⁴⁷ E. g. Herzfeld, AMI IX pl. XII Abb. 135 n. (65), Boston 27. 651.

⁴⁸ This gesture of holding an animal in either hand is found on many of the extant Mitannian cylinders, e.g. Morgan 1030, 1031, and was also used on the earliest designs of the Middle Assyrian style, e.g. Ward, SC 713, Morgan 593, and De Clercq 357.

⁴⁹ E. g. Kültepe 22aB. A double-headed figure corresponding even more closely to our demon may also be depicted on Cér. Capp. pl. C: 2, but the photograph is not sufficiently clear to show this with certainty.

⁵⁰ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 209: "The Asiatics at first depicted the winged disk exclusively with a support, and considering the outstretched wings the main element of the design, evidently interpreted it as a representation of the sky."

⁵¹ The posture of the bull on Morgan 399, where he appears to be emblematic of the

the "tree" are represented but each in a separate portion of the seal-design. On No. 508* both symbols are drawn together by the representation of the tree below the two suppliants who raise their hands towards the "wings on a pole."

A wealth of figures is portrayed on 508a and, while their significance may remain obscure, the manner in which some of them are arranged to produce a symmetrical composition is noteworthy. In the center is the inverted figure of a nude female, on one side a reclining deity, characterized as such by her horned mitre. On the other side, balancing the lines of this figure, is an inverted sphinx. A dancer appears horizontally between deity and sphinx; at the feet of the dancer is a minute recumbent antelope. The other figures in the upper part of the sealing appear to be mere filling motives: a symmetrical pair of rampant antelopes, a lion, and a suppliant with raised hands. In the lower portion of the sealing a large bull-man pictured full face and a procession of three gods appear as the principal figures, with sphinx, lion, antelope, and antelope's head taking up the rest of the space. The largest of the three deities holds an axe, and a small nude worshipper is depicted before him. The second one carries a club or tree(?), the third an emblem resembling a trident.

This procession of deities recalls Cappadocian designs, and the manner in which the bull-man is rendered is similar to that of the sealings belonging to the Anatolian group (see p. 99).

The fragment No. 509 so closely resembles No. 508 in the representation of the figures that there can be little doubt as to the common origin of both seals.

Nos. 510-517 show gods and heroes in violent combat with animals. The posture of the heroes deserves closer examination. On Nos. 511-513 the hero grasps the animal by a limb with one hand and brandishes a scimitar with the other, swinging it far back over his head. This representation contrasts with the fighting postures of the Sargonid designs which formed the pattern for all contests until the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty. On these earlier representations, the heroes usually attack with their bare hands, and the animal is about to be strangled or its bones to be crushed, whereas on Nos. 511-513 it is about to perish by the fatal blow of an irresistible weapon. This new manner of portraying the hero's attack upon his victim was fully accepted by the Middle Assyrian engravers (e.g. Morgan 596, 599, 606 and 607). Another feature which these later seal-cutters took over from the Mitannians is the vestment of the formerly nude bearded hero. From the Uruk period until the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, this figure is represented wearing only a double or triple girdle tightly wound around the waist. On our Nuzi sealing No. 517, however, the two nude bearded heroes are depicted with the same girdle with long tassels worn by the other heroes on the Mitannian designs (see p. 18 and note 17). This undoubtedly caused the Middle Assyrian artists to represent our hero not only with that same girdle but also with the kilt which is usually worn by the other heroes and huntsmen.⁵²

Sun-god Šamaš, is exactly the same as on the clay plaques of the First Babylonian Dynasty (cf. Van Buren CIF figs. 160 and 254, Nos. 597 and 1004). It may be possible to associate this bull in the door or gate with scenes on the Sargonid cylinders that depict the goddess with the winged gate that rests on the back of the bull of heaven (cf. Frankfort, CS 128 ff. for a discussion of these representations).

⁵² The bearded hero is found, for example, on the Middle Assyrian cylinders Morgan

Nos. 518-527, mostly from the period of Tehip-tilla and Enna-mati, are distinguished by the inclusion in the designs of nude figures seen in acrobatic postures. The most characteristic of these imprints is No. 518. Here we find figures leaping or falling through space, one hand extended as if to ward off the impact of the fall. Another posture which is remarkable for its gracefulness is taken by a figure who bends far back to evade the stroke of an attacker. A fourth figure shows a different type of pose: with hands clasped, he (or she) bends his upper body back while being raised by a figure who brandishes a scimitar.

The other sealings here assembled usually show only one figure in the postures observed on No. 518. On No. 519* a nude figure bends backwards, perhaps to evade the attack of the griffin; on No. 520 a god seems to fall through space over another god who carries a scimitar over his shoulder; on No. 521 a figure bent in acrobatic posture is depicted at the side of a group consisting of a figure with scimitar, nude female, and suppliant goddess. A figure with clasped hands, bending backwards, is encountered on No. 522; on No. 523 a nude, apparently lifeless figure is added to the filling motives.

Nos. 524* and 525 have been placed here because they closely resemble the composition and engraving of No. 523, but, as far as the fragmentary state of both impressions permits judgment, no figures in acrobatic postures were represented.

On No. 526 a figure in the lower register is given a posture that is slightly reminiscent of those seen on No. 518. The imprint has therefore been placed here (rather than beside No. 503 where it may belong stylistically because of the division of the design into two registers and the general manner of rendering the figures).

On No. 527* a nude figure clasping a dagger is seen falling behind the chariot.

The interpretation of these nude figures as acrobatic dancers is fully discussed in the summary (see p. 119). As to their specific meaning in the scenes of the present group, No. 518 appears to portray a battle. The fact that it is a mythological event which is here depicted may be borne out by the representation of animals, in the upper and lower fields, which might have some symbolic significance.⁵³ The two figures who are falling or leaping downwards have notched headdresses which might easily represent feathered crowns. Should this interpretation of the head-dresses prove correct, it might give a clue to the nature of these figures. On one of a number of Sargonid cylinders (Iraq I pl. III c) which Frankfort has convincingly interpreted as the slaying of the evil bird-demon Zû,⁵⁴ that figure is depicted in anthropomorphic shape wearing a feathered crown.⁵⁵ It seems possible therefore that No. 518 portrays a battle against such evil bird-demons, who are falling through space after having been slain by the victorious attackers. It must be mentioned, however, that the (apparently lifeless)

596, 597, Newell 685, 686, and Moore 80 wearing the same kilt as the huntsmen on such designs as Morgan 599 and 600. In the Neo-Assyrian period, the portrayals of this figure also usually show him with a kilt; Berlin 608 is an exception.

⁵³ Of course, they may also have been inserted merely to fill the space.

⁵⁴ Cf. Iraq I 26 ff. and CS 132 ff.

⁵⁵ The shape of the "notched headgear" worn by the figures on our sealing corresponds more closely to the one worn by the hero on the engraved shell plaque, *Ur Excavations* vol. II pl. 91 (see also Woolley, *Ur. Exc.* vol. II, text p. 273, for the interpretation of this headgear as a feathered cap), than to any of the later representations of feather crowns.

figure who is raised by one of the attackers recalls the nude female as seen for example on No. 521, both in the outline of the body and in the gesture of the clasped hands. Perhaps this figure who does not wear a notched (or feathered) headdress is to be regarded as having been previously killed by the evil demons.

On No. 519 the attacker is a griffin, perhaps embodying in his monstrous shape the conception of the bird-demon or demons who may appear in anthropomorphic form on No. 518. At the side of the griffin stands a nude female, here characterized as a goddess by her pointed mitre. Whether or not this representation should be connected with that of No. 518 is a problem which must remain unsolved until additional representations of this theme are discovered.⁵⁶

Only two other sealings, Nos. 526 and 527, give an intelligible hint as to the role of these nude figures in extraordinary postures. On the first sealing the figure bends down, copying the posture of the hopping or leaping animals; it seems more than likely therefore that he (or she) performs an animal dance. On No. 527 the falling figure probably represents the conquered foe of the charioteer. Neither figure appears, off hand, to have been connected with the battle scene of No. 518, as mentioned above, however it is always possible that discovery of more explicit renderings of the theme represented on No. 518 may reveal that all the representations, Nos. 518-523, 526 and 527, render different aspects of the same mythological event.

GROUP XIII (Pl. XXVII, Nos. 528-538)

This small group is composed of imprints with various motives and is characterized by the postures of the figures which are distinctive for their gracefulness and often give the impression of having been derived from postures in a dance. Most of the impressions are from the time of Tarmi-tilla.

The figures on these sealings are usually seen with arms raised high; on Nos. 528 and 529 one figure appears to be leaping. Even when they are standing with gestures of supplication or worship, their posture is distinctive for its gracefulness. Furthermore, the manner of rendering the chignon of the hair is remarkable, recalling the shape of a smoker's pipe. The earliest imprints of this group derive from the time of Tēhip-tilla (No. 538), others from the time of Enna-mati (Nos. 528 and 537), the rest from the time of Tarmi-tilla. The reason for the long duration of this uniform group is difficult to decide. The above-mentioned characteristics may be due to a specific workshop or these designs may portray a certain type of figures, perhaps dancers with their distinctive gestures, that remained unaltered throughout the Nuzi period.

⁵⁶ Attention may be drawn to the head of the horse placed on the ground beside the goddess. It may be noted that (as on Morgan 588 and on the Kassite boundary-stone W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I*, 1907, p. 131 fig. 49), the head (as well as the neck) of the horse is represented in contrast to the heads of other animals, where usually the cranium alone is portrayed. This may be explained by the fact that the horse at this period only came into the cycle of symbolic animals, and representative art in Mesopotamia was therefore not sufficiently familiar with it to use the head alone as a filling motive.

As to the motives, No. 528 presents several unusual features in the Nuzi repertoire. One is the small bull in the lap of the seated figure, probably a deity; the second is the gesture of an apparently nude figure, who on the one hand is engaged in a contest with a rampant animal, but on the other turns around to face the seated deity, raising his hand high in the air and bending backwards as if leaping. Lastly, the altar placed in the field is an unusual design on Nuzi sealings and suggests Cappadocian or Syrian derivation.⁵⁷

No. 529 presents a figure in semi-kneeling posture before one who is seen with one foot placed forward, possibly in the posture of ascending; the semi-kneeling posture is rarely employed as a gesture of reverence, which it appears to signify here.

The double-headed lion-demon of No. 530, while frequent on sealings of Group XXIV, is unique among the sealings of the Common Style. The griffin placed as a full-sized figure in the row of No. 531 and the crossed human figures on No. 534 are not paralleled by other Nuzi sealings.

GROUP XIV (Pls. XXVII-XXVIII, Nos. 539-566)

The present group contains sealings of the Common Style which show considerable differences in engraving and have therefore been assembled here according to their principal motives. Nos. 539-549 present worship of "wings on a pole," Nos. 550-559 processions, and Nos. 560-566 a seated deity.

The shape of the "wings on a pole" varies. On Nos. 539, 540, 546, and 547 (also on No. 194, where it is placed in the ancillary motive) a disk is placed on the pole under the wings. On No. 541 this design is inverted, the wings resting on the ground. On Nos. 544, 545, and 548 the disk is omitted (see also Nos. 502, 506-508, discussed pp. 35/6). On No. 543 a disk is placed below the "wings on a pole," on 545* a mannikin and on No. 547 a human head are seen in this place. On No. 549, finally, a schematically rendered bird replaces the "wings on a pole" above the seated figures. This variation in the renderings apparently reflects a difference in the underlying concepts (see p. 115).

The next theme, represented on Nos. 550-556, is a procession. Its rendering in the present group is distinguished from the processions of Nos. 454-460 by the fact that they are not directed towards a specific goal. On No. 554 a column of human heads turned at right angles terminates the scene. It seems likely that this column symbolizes additional worshippers or suppliants. Nos. 557 and 558 showing only a column of human heads have been added here because their meaning may be the same, namely, a row of worshippers.

No. 559 has been placed here, among the impressions which do not belong to any one of the foregoing groups but which, nevertheless, are engraved in the same general manner. The presence of the inscription on this sealing somewhat relates it to Nos. 555 and 556, the subject, however, two confronted figures with a globe above them brings to mind No. 346 of Group VII.

The principal motive of Nos. 560-566 is that of a seated figure, probably a goddess.

⁵⁷ E. g. *Chr. Capp.* pl. A: 3 and the Syrian cylinder Moore 140.

On Nos. 560-563 she is represented drinking through a tube from a vessel. No. 564 shows the goddess flanked by two stags; at her side are two suppliants with "wings on a pole" above them. Below the pole appears the head of a stag. The "wings on the pole" relate the present small group to Nos. 539-549. On No. 565 the human heads may again symbolize worshippers, as has been suggested for the processions and rows of Nos. 554, 557, and 558. No. 566 presents a curious motive which cannot be completely reconstructed, as the upper part of that imprint is broken off. What remains of the design shows a nude(?) figure grasping with one hand the back of the goddess' chair and holding a scimitar in the other.

Nos. 560 and 561 bridge the gap to the sealings of the next group by showing a griffin with the crest of three feathers with which he is only once represented on the impressions of the Common Style (No. 134), whereas this is the usual representation on sealings belonging to the Elborate Style.

GROUP XV (Pls. XXVIII-XXIX, Nos. 567-601)

This group, forms a transition between the sealings of the Common Style and those of the Elaborate Style. Both hard and soft materials appear to have been used for the originals, and the engraving accordingly varies from minute detail and sharp outlines to coarser, more careless carving.

The characteristic feature of this group is the predominance of animals and monsters, used as filling motives on the first few sealings of this group (Nos. 567-576) and completely crowding out the human or divine figures on the rest of the impressions (Nos. 577-601) where they remain the sole subjects of the designs. All designs of this group are made with considerable use of the drill and cutting wheel, which gives the group a uniform appearance although it is unlikely that all of the imprints were produced in the same work-shop. The date of the impressions ranges from the middle of Tehiptilla to Tarmi-tilla. The larger sealings are seen on the earlier tablets; the smaller ones belong to the later period.

Of the first sealings, Nos. 567-576, only two show the same principal figure, whereas the main motives of the other imprints vary considerably and may therefore be treated individually. Nos. 567 and 568 are related by the figure on whose arm a bird is perched; on the first sealing, he kneels on one leg while throwing the other forward as if to kick the stag before him; on No. 568 he appears to be raising one leg, perhaps in jumping posture. Both postures appear to be derived from the dance.⁵⁸ The other figures represented on No. 567 are a hero and lion-griffin, a group derived from the contest-friezes portrayed on the cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁸ The posture of the figure on No. 567 is probably the same as that of the dancers with the "bouquet-tree" on such sealings as Nos. 243 and 244; the posture of the man on No. 568 corresponds to those of the dancers on No. 940.

⁵⁹ A number of these scenes depict the attack of the winged lion-griffin and other

contrast to his passive role in these earlier representations, however, the hero here attacks the monster with a mace. The relation between No. 567 and those impressions where only monsters and animals are depicted is manifested by the resemblance of lion, griffin, and stag to the corresponding designs on No. 586.

The scene of No. 568 appears to show a god carrying a mace(?) upright, and a nude female. It is regrettable that this unusual scene is too incompletely preserved to permit further comment.

Similarity in the engraving of No. 568a with that of Nos. 567 and 568 has led to its inclusion here. Its fragmentary state, however, precludes any conclusion concerning a relation of the subject matter of these imprints.

Showing animals and monsters engraved in the same manner as those of No. 567, No. 569 presents a most unusual motive. Each of the two tall figures, one of whom holds a scimitar, places one hand on the opponent's shoulder. This may signify either a friendly embrace⁹⁰ or a contest; the gesture is so far unparalleled by other Nuzi designs.

No. 570 presents a nude winged female surrounded by monsters and animals that are carved in the same style as those of No. 569; the lions, for example, are identical in posture and design. A somewhat related representation is found on No. 571, but this sealing shows coarser engraving and a more symmetrical composition.

No. 572 has been placed here because the animal and human figures appear to be engraved in a manner similar to those of Nos. 567-570. The predominant feature on No. 572 is the "tree with ribbon volutes" (see p. 114). Here the ribbons clearly show the fringes of the ends hanging down from the volutes formed by the loops. The fact that a bird with outspread wings is perched on the crown of the tree is worth noting. This bird appears to replace the winged sun-disk seen on the other representations and thus presents a parallel to the alternation between the "wings on a pole" and the bird with outspread wings which could be observed on Nos. 539-549 of Group XIV.

No. 573 shows a figure standing on a lion-griffin whose "leash" is composed by drillings. The figure corresponds to that of the Weather-god as frequently seen on the imprints of Groups XXI and XXII. The excessive use of the drill on No. 573, however, associates it with the present group rather than with those just mentioned.

No. 574 appears to present two figures with a standard between them; of the filling motives, only a lion with bristling mane is recognizable. As far as the fragmentary state of the imprint permits judgment, the engraving corresponds to that of No. 573.

Nos. 575* and 576 show only one figure with groups of monsters and animals. The composition of No. 575 is especially significant because the scheme of three figures, here two lions attacking an antelope, is characteristic of most sealings in this group, they are Nos. 576-586. Griffins alternate with the lions on Nos. 576-585; No. 586 shows one griffin and one lion as the attackers. The human(?) figures on No. 587, a semi-kneeling mannikin brandishing a weapon and a figure grasping a loop-staff and turned 90°, appear to be filling motives for the principal group of sphinx and lion attacking an ibex rather than the main figures of the scene.

monsters on a hero and on a goat which is usually seated on a knoll, represented, for example, on Morgan 359-361, 363-365, 367 and Berlin 467-475.

⁹⁰ An example of an embrace appears to be illustrated on the Syrian cylinder Louvre A 934.

While far less popular on Nuzi sealings than the scheme of three, the group of two, attacker and victim, which is so common in the ancillary motives of the Syrian cylinders, is included on Nos. 589-590. The difference in the engraving of Nos. 590 and 591, both of which represent the same motives, is remarkable and points once again to the variety that existed in the glyptic of Nuzi.

Nos. 592-597* present monsters in pursuit of horned animals. The most characteristic and best preserved of these impressions, Nos. 592 and 593, show griffins leaping and flying in pursuit of their victims. Other representations, such as Nos. 598 and probably Nos. 599-601, show monsters calmly walking in a row. The rows of walking monsters can be compared to and are perhaps ultimately derived from rows of walking monsters found among the glyptic products of the earliest periods;⁶¹ the violent pursuit, however, is a new feature introduced in the glyptic phase under discussion.

GROUP XVI (Pl. XXX-XXXI, Nos. 602-633)

Sealings which present copies of Old-Babylonian cylinders or which are strongly dependent on these designs have been assembled here to form the first group of the Elaborate Style. They may be divided into several categories: Nos. 602-608 show copies of the characteristic type of seals and figures used during the First Dynasty of Babylon. In some cases, such as No. 606, there may be some question as to the classification of the piece as of late Old-Babylonian or Nuzi origin. The class of small cylinders with a wealth of figures found on the latest documents of the First Babylonian Dynasty is represented by Nos. 609-612.⁶² Of these sealings, only No. 610-612 show the strong use of the drill which characterizes the extant cylinders of this group.⁶³ Nos. 613-618 belong to a group of which numerous examples are preserved in various collections and which originated in Susa (see note 70). Nos. 619-633 present Old-Babylonian figures with characteristic Mitannian additions and changes. With a few exceptions the impressions are from the time of Tehiptilla.

On the first sealing of this group, No. 602, we find a presentation scene—rendered by a Nuzi engraver—of the type seen on the Old-Babylonian cylinders, Morgan 315-329. In the outlines of the figures, he lacked the assurance of the Babylonian seal-cutters; furthermore, he showed the seated deity with a mitre of the type worn by the gods on Nos. 620-623 (unquestionably Nuzi designs). The nude female used as a

⁶¹ Especially the walking griffin, which recalls the seal imprints from Susa, Louvre S 366, S 368.

⁶² Cf. Delaporte RA VII pl. IV: 2.

⁶³ One of the most characteristic pieces of this group (De Clercq 396) has been included and discussed as CS pl. XXXI e by Frankfort. Cf. also *ibid.* p. 154, note 1 for a list of related cylinders.

filling motive and portrayed with the round cap characteristic of many Nuzi figures adds further proof of the Nuzi origin of this design.

No. 603, presenting as the principal figure the Old-Babylonian goddess of war, is far smaller than the extant Old-Babylonian stones depicting this deity. Furthermore, the feline heads of her lion-club are transformed into the curved ends of an omega-shaped design in which is set the mace of her club.⁶⁴ The nude female, instead of having her hair fall on her shoulders, is shown with curls indicated by minute drillings. The suppliant goddess and the "god with the mace," however, correspond to Old-Babylonian prototypes.

No. 604 is interesting for its rendering of the posture of the "god with the mace." Instead of the natural manner in which this figure holds his arms on the Old-Babylonian imprint No. 991, No. 604 shows him with one shoulder raised and the arm bent unnaturally; the figure was apparently copied with some difficulty by an engraver who was unfamiliar with its design. Moreover, the deity standing behind the suppliant goddess is an amplification of the scene not found in this form on Old-Babylonian cylinders,⁶⁵ examples of which are Nos. 991-995. The mitre of the deity, which is surrounded by small drillings and the indiscernible object placed on top of the lightning symbol on No. 604 are likewise indications of the non-Babylonian and probably Nuzi origin of the sealing.

Nos. 605 and 606 correspond in their style to the late Old-Babylonian cylinder, Frankfort, CS pl. XXX: c. On No. 605 the antelope and recumbent bull(?) above, which form the filling motive, are engraved in the same style as the principal figures; they were therefore doubtlessly carved at the same time as the rest of the seal. Because such a combination of two animal designs as a filling motive is un-Babylonian, No. 605 appears to be an imprint made from a cylinder of Nuzi origin.

Nos. 607 and 608 are both badly preserved. On the first imprint, the filling motives, two birds one above the other at the side of the panel with the inscription and a small human figure supporting on his head a bird on a staff(?), are all decidedly un-Babylonian; whether they were added by a Nuzi engraver on a late Old-Babylonian cylinder of the cursory type represented by Morgan 470, or whether the entire seal is the work of a Nuzi seal-cutter using Old-Babylonian figures, must remain undecided. No. 608 seems to show a "god with mace," here carrying his weapon over his shoulder and raising an animal. Such a design would be un-Babylonian but entirely possible on a Nuzi product. The sealing has therefore been placed here, although its bad state of preservation precludes a definite classification.

No. 609 belongs to a class of cylinders which are transitional from Old-Babylonian to Mitannian glyptic. They show small-sized fairly accurate representations of Old-Babylonian motives usually with additions which are typical of Mitannian designs.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Even here, where the lion-club is represented in its original function, the transformation of this emblem, discussed on p. 108 has influenced its rendering.

⁶⁵ On BN 487, a cylinder marked as a Syrian piece by the occurrence of the Egyptian life-sign (and included among the Syrian cylinders by Frankfort as CS pl. XLII d), however, we see a similar arrangement of the figures.

⁶⁶ This is especially true of Morgan 1011, which shows the same Weather-god as seen on the impression Louvre A 566 which is found on one of the latest tablets of the First Babylonian Dynasty. On the same cylinder, however, a deity is depicted standing on bulls with crossed bodies, the last mentioned feature being typically Mitannian.

It may be noted that No. 609 shows remarkably little use of the drill except for the sun-disk, which is rendered as a rosette. The figure kneeling under the saw of the Sun-god is a strikingly un-Babylonian feature on the sealing, as the semi-kneeling posture was never used as a gesture of reverence on Old-Babylonian designs (see also No. 529 and p. 39).

Nos. 610-612 which resemble No. 609 in the small size and in the general treatment of the designs show the stronger use of the drill which is characteristic of the extant cylinders of this type (see note 63). For example, the mace held by the god in ascending posture on No. 610 corresponds to that of the lion-demon on De Clercq 396 (Frankfort, CS pl. XXXI e). No. 611 appears to show a seated figure that corresponds to that of No. 610. The ancillary motive on that sealing, however, which appears to consist of two animals is completely un-Babylonian. No. 612 corresponds in size, general treatment of the figures and in the use of the drill to No. 610. It is interesting to note that No. 610 is impressed on a tablet written outside of Nuzi, and that except for the four imprints here discussed, no other examples of this group were found among the Nuzi sealings on the tablets in Chicago, although numerous cylinders and seal impressions of this type are known (see notes 62 and 63).

Nos. 613*-616, to which can probably be added Nos. 617 and 618, represent a style of which several examples are contained in various collections of cylinder seals.⁶⁷ The most characteristic features of this style are the seats of the deities which have animal heads and feet, the worshippers with curiously broad heads and "hair en brosse" and the deities with wide and flat headgears⁶⁸ which are especially obvious on the extant cylinders of this type. On the latter also a progressive dissolution of the bodies into lines and drillings can be observed. Furthermore a star-emblem often occurs on cylinders and impressions of this style.

On No. 613* we find the star-emblem in the hand of both the seated deity and the god in ascending posture; furthermore, the seat of the goddess ends in the head of an animal, as on Louvre D 107 and D 111, and the worshipper is seen with the same distinctive rendering of the hair as on Louvre D 107. On the other hand, the bodies of the figures are here rendered with more plastic expression and the faces with more care than on the cylinders cited above. It seems possible, therefore, that No. 613 presents an incipient stage of this style, while the extant seals show its progressive development.

On No. 614 we again find the goddess seated on a throne ending in an animal's head at the back; moreover, the feet of the throne are shaped like those of a bull. She holds a branch here instead of the star-emblem of No. 613*. The three nude females in the upper register of the ancillary motive further stress the relations with the group of cylinders by presenting the same rendering as seen on Louvre D 109. The small nude female which the worshipper offers the deity is a unique feature.⁶⁹ No. 615 and perhaps

⁶⁷ Morgan 1022, 1023 Louvre D 106-111, D 115, D 125 and D 129, A 833, A 834, Newell 195 and 199, Philadelphia 432, BN 447, Cugnin 56 and Hague 13.

⁶⁸ This head-gear recalls in a manner that of the figure on the imprint "sur terre crue" from Susa, MDP XXV p. 233 fig. 83, as well as that depicted on the stela of Untaşgal, *EPHA I* p. 270.

⁶⁹ The only other scene which can be interpreted as an offering of a human figure is a cylinder from Susa, MDP XXV p. 232 fig. 82: 3, which gives the impression of being a Sargonid piece.

also the fragmentary No. 616 show a translation of this type of design into a technique working predominantly with a drill. The head-gears of the figures correspond to those of Newell 195 and Louvre D 129. A unique feature is presented by No. 616, where two figures, one of them probably characterized as a god by his pointed mitre, turn their heads towards two figures who appear on either side of a standard. This posture is not paralleled by any other Mesopotamian representations where the figures invariably face in the direction in which they walk.

Perhaps Nos. 617 and 618 also can be assigned to this group, although the rendering of the figures varies from the other examples. The tree and the mitres of the gods on No. 617 as well as the cross-hatched seat of the deity on No. 618 correspond to Hague 13; the size of No. 618 as well as the rendering of the globe-staff to Newell 195.

No. 613 is the seal of Winnirke, mother of Tehip-tilla; Nos. 617 and 618 are likewise from the time preceding Tehip-tilla's activity, while Nos. 615 and 616 are found on tablets that are one to three decades later. It seems possible, therefore, that No. 613* and the closely related sealing No. 614, perhaps also Nos. 617 and 618, present the incipient stages of this style, while Nos. 615 and 616 as well as the extant cylinders of this type, show progressive schematization.

As I have shown elsewhere,⁷⁰ this group did not originate in Nuzi but in Susa. Whether the cylinders of the type represented by the impressions Nos. 615 and 616 were local copies of this style, or whether they were also imported from Susa, is difficult to decide. It may be pointed out, however, that Louvre D 129, which was mentioned above for its relation to Nos. 615 and 616, is contained in the collection Dieulafoy which is partly composed of cylinders found in the excavations of Susa.⁷¹

The following sealings show Old-Babylonian elements with increasing evidence of the individual style evolved by the seal-cutters of the Nuzi period. The Old-Babylonian elements mainly consist in the general appearance of the deities and worshippers and in their gestures. Moreover the inscriptions which are often included in the seal designs cause a resemblance to Old-Babylonian representations.

Nos. 619-625 may all be the work of one seal-cutter. They show certain characteristics which seem to indicate that they were cut by the same person. The sealings are fairly large and in the faces of the figures the nose is always strongly accentuated. On the mitres of the suppliant goddesses the horns are rendered like loops, while the mitres of the other deities are square, closely resembling those seen on Nos. 613 and 614.

No 619 which is most closely related to Old-Babylonian examples has been placed at the beginning of this small group. The characteristics mentioned above, however, as well as the awkward postures of the figures indicate that the cylinder was not made by an Old-Babylonian engraver. Furthermore the gesture of the bull-man who grasps the panel of the inscription is quite incompatible with Old-Babylonian glyptic tradition. On No. 620 the figure with scimitar so frequently encountered on the Nuzi designs is decidedly un-Babylonian. No. 621 shows the characteristics of this small group which were mentioned above, but is too fragmentary to permit further comment. No. 622 presenting again the typical Nuzi figure with scimitar is further distinguished from Old-Babylonian examples by the manner in which the inscription is included in the

⁷⁰ Cf. the writer's article, *The Origin of Winnirke's Cylinder Seal*, JNES 1946 p. 259.

⁷¹ Cf. L. J. Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux . . . Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1920 vol. I p. 67.

composition, dividing the two principal figures. On No. 623 the un-Babylonian features consist in the "tree" and in the small offering stand which is placed under the raised lion-club of the god. This design is found again on the typical Nuzi sealing No. 634.

The fragment No. 624 has been placed at the side of No. 623 because the "tree" (here replacing the lion-club in the hand of the god), shows some relation to the type of "tree" with graceful volutes seen on No. 623. As to the rest of this scene, the god stepping upon an animal and the vertical row of drillings, apparently separating two groups of the scene, deserve mention, but the bad state of preservation of the imprint precludes further comment. This is true also of No. 625. Attention may, nevertheless, be called to the god on No. 625 who holds a loop-staff. No parallels for this gesture can be found in Old-Babylonian glyptic but it is occasionally seen on the impressions of the "Cappadocian" tablets and on related cylinders.⁷²

The variety of the designs on Nos. 619-625 shows that they were engraved by a seal-cutter who was experimenting with different subjects and schemes of composition, instead of following a pattern that had already been set. This evidence indicates that the cylinders were made early in the period of Nuzi glyptic. Close relation of the designs of this group to the impression Louvre A 564 which is found on a tablet of the 24th year of Ammiditana, further supports this supposition.⁷³

Nos. 626-631 again appear to form a connected group. The sealings are smaller than those of Nos. 619-625 and give the impression of having been cut with greater assurance. The plain, clear outlines of the figures recall the style of some late Old-Babylonian (see note 221) and of Kassite designs (e.g. Frankfort, CS pl. XXX k-m). Old-Babylonian elements, are still preserved although they are often considerably transformed. The figure who carries a scimitar over his shoulder on No. 627, for example, corresponds to the rendering of a god, probably Nergal, on the Old-Babylonian cylinder Morgan 395. On No. 628 only the suppliant goddess is a genuine Old-Babylonian figure whereas the figure with scimitar and a rampant animal before him is the same personage encountered on numerous impressions of the Common style. Furthermore, the worshipper on No. 628 differs from Old-Babylonian representations by facing towards the inscription; only suppliant goddesses are pictured in this manner on cylinders of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

No. 629, shows an Old-Babylonian subject seen, for example, on the cylinder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Berlin 340. Two suppliant goddesses are pictured on this cylinder raising their hands towards a "god with the mace." No. 629 presents a translation of this subject into the style of the period under discussion. A god with scimitar has taken the place of the "god with the mace" and the suppliant goddesses are replaced by figures here regarded as priestesses (see p. 30 and p. 112). It may be mentioned that the female suppliant on the impression of Išar-lim of Hana (Louvre A 594), appears to be rendered in the same manner.

The suppliant goddess facing the inscription on No. 629a conforms to the Old-Babylonian motive of one or two goddesses at the side of the inscription. The transformation of this motive into the style of the Nuzi period can be observed on Nos. 630 and 631 where the suppliant goddess is replaced by a figure who is probably a priestess.

⁷² E.g. Kültepe 18aD; Louvre A 871; Morgan 907.

⁷³ It must be mentioned, however, that only a genetic relation between the imprint of the time of Ammiditana and our Nuzi impressions is hereby implied.

This is the same transformation which the subject of No. 629 had undergone. The group of god and worshipper on No. 629a is likewise of Old-Babylonian origin, however, the gesture of the god who appears to touch the leg of the sacrificial animal which the worshipper holds in his arms, is never found on genuinely Old-Babylonian representations. Finally, the streams of water indicated by vertical rows of drillings (below the vases that are placed in the upper field between the figures) on No. 631, correspond to an Old-Babylonian example. On Berlin 498, a seal dated by Moortgat to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the streams of the flowing vase held by the nude hero are indicated in the same manner. Before concluding the survey of this small group, Nos. 626-631, we may mention an interesting feature on No. 627. This sealing shows an offering stand with three drillings which recalls the offering stands with three rings frequently found on "Cappadocian" impressions and cylinders.⁷⁴

Perhaps No. 632 can be added to this group despite the fact that the ancillary motive, two sphinxes with a standard, differs completely from all Old-Babylonian designs. Nevertheless, the worshipper and the personage offering a kid are not far removed from prototypes of the First Babylonian Dynasty. It may be mentioned that the owner of this seal is referred to as *mār šarri*, "son of the king"; his cylinder may therefore have been cut outside of Nuzi, which would account for the difficulty of fitting this sealing into one of the groups into which the Nuzi material has here been divided.

Another sealing which has been joined to those of the present group is No. 633. Again the ancillary motive, consisting of two animals one above the other and separated by a horizontal line, deviates completely from all known Old-Babylonian schemes. On the other hand, the figures with flounced robes, the tiers of which are indicated by short horizontal lines made with the cutting wheel, recall such late seals of the First Babylonian Dynasty period as Louvre D 52.

GROUP XVII (Pls. XXXII-XXXIII, Nos. 634-662)

The sealings of this group present a combination of Old-Babylonian and Syrian elements. The figures of the principal scenes are mostly derived from the Old-Babylonian repertoire. Their appearance, however, and especially their emblems are considerably changed, apparently, owing to the adaptation of these figures to the concepts of the Nuzi people. The Syrian elements in this group are limited, in general, to the ancillary motives. The sealings cover all three generations from Tehip-tilla to Tarmi-tilla. Jasper and hematite probably predominated among the materials of the cylinders, as can be inferred from the extant pieces related to this group.^{74a}

On Nos. 634-643 (with the exception of No. 639), the principal figure of the scene, a god holding an emblem is derived from Old-Babylonian representations. On Nos. 634-636* this emblem is the lion-club (see p. 17). The transformation of this emblem into a tree on the Nuzi sealings has already been referred to in the discussion of Group

⁷⁴ E. g. *Cér. Capp.* pl. B: 4 and Morgan 894.

^{74a} E. g. BN 446, Walters 54, Berlin 567.

III. On the sealings of the present group, however, the stages in the transition of this emblem are more clearly discernible. On No. 636* the emblem still closely resembles the Old-Babylonian prototype with the blades ending in feline heads. On No. 634 these blades are abbreviated to an omega-shaped line in which the mace is set (here given the shape of a slender vase). Variations of this stage are depicted on No. 635 and probably on No. 642.* On No. 640* the omega-shaped line ends in two drillings, and the mace is transformed into the calyx of a flower with three blossoms or stamens, each of which is indicated by a line ending in a small drilling. A different transformation has taken place on Nos. 637 and 638; here the blades gracefully curve down as sepals, and the mace is completely transformed into a flower. On No. 643, finally, all distinction between the blades and the mace have been omitted, and the emblem now consists of a flower or "bouquet."

It must be mentioned, however, that the different stages in the development of the "bouquet" cannot be used as dating criteria, because No. 643, showing the fully developed "bouquet," is impressed on a tablet of the early or middle period of Tehip-tilla, also the date of No. 634, which shows an incipient stage of transformation of the lion-club.

After having thus followed the development of the flower, or more likely, the "tree" which the god carries on Nos. 637, 638 and 640-643, an attempt may be made to determine the nature of the deity who is characterized by this emblem. An indication for the interpretation of this god is given by Walters 54. There a god holds a plant closely resembling that of No. 640*. The god mentioned in the inscription of the Walters seal is Aššur; while we cannot, of course, be certain that inscription and representation are connected, attention may nevertheless be called to the fact that precisely the "tree" which he holds might characterize this god as Aššur. As both Sidney Smith and Frankfort have suggested,⁷⁵ Aššur was originally a god of fertility and was intimately related to the rituals performed in connection with a tree or its artificial equivalent in Assyria.

Probably a different deity is represented on our Nuzi sealings, as there is no reference to Aššur in any of the texts from this site.⁷⁶

This god with a lion-club or a "tree" derived from that emblem, is faced on Nos. 634 and 636*-638 by a figure with scimitar. It seems likely that this figure is not a deity, but a human personage paying homage to the god. On Assyrian representations such a role would be assigned to the king. In view of the fact that almost the entire repertoire of Assyrian art appears to be based on the Mitannian (see p. 123), it seems likely that the figure with scimitar portrayed on the Nuzi sealings should be identified with the king. In support of this contention the scimitar of Adad-nīrārī I⁷⁷ may be mentioned. Apparently, this weapon was a royal insignia. This interpretation of the figure with scimitar does not contradict the suggestion made on p. 18, that this figure

⁷⁵ Cf. Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, London, 1928 123 ff. and Frankfort, CS p. 205, note 1 against Tallqvists denial of any traces of a god of fertility in Aššur (Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott*, Studia Orientalia, IV, p. 111.).

⁷⁶ Tallqvist believes Aššur to have been the heir of the mountain-god Ebeḫ or Ebiḫ, cf. Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott* p. 113. Perhaps this is the deity here depicted.

⁷⁷ Cf. Sidney Smith, op. cit. fig. 12 and note 10 to Chapter IX (p. 379) for bibliographical references.

is to be regarded as a slayer of animals. As discussed more extensively below (p. 113) this would be compatible with the functions of the Assyrian king and it is possible that similar royal functions existed in the Nuzi period.

On Nos. 649-660 the figure with scimitar takes the place of the Old-Babylonian "god with the mace" opposite the suppliant goddess. The posture of the "god with the mace" has been retained and a change has been effected only in the attire of the figure, who wears a long mantle instead of the tunic, and in the replacing of the mace by a scimitar. These representations might further support the contention that the figure with scimitar is to be regarded as the king, because the "god with the mace" is interpreted by some scholars representing the king in the attire of a warrior.⁷⁸

Nos. 648 and 661*, showing figures which vary from those so far discussed, deserve special consideration. The first shows a god with a star-emblem. This emblem (previously seen on Nos. 613* and perhaps also on No. 618) in the hand of a male deity is an innovation of the Mitannian seal-cutters, as only a female deity is depicted once on the Babylonian cylinder seal BN 218 with a similar star-staff. The accent on the astral aspect of the gods, so strong on the designs of the Assyrian cylinders, may thus be foreshadowed on these Nuzi sealings.

The second interesting representation is that of the figure on No. 661*: he is draped in a richly bordered mantle and appears to wear the same type of helmet as the "warrior" from Mari (*Syria* XIX, 1938, pl. VIII). In his hand he holds a mace—perhaps the royal scepter with which Tukulti-Ninurta I, king of Assyria is represented on the altar which depicts him in an act of reverence before the symbol of a god (AfO VII, 1931-32, pl. IV: 1). It does not seem unlikely, therefore, that we have here a variant of the representation of the king.

No. 662, though only a fragment nevertheless adds an interesting detail to the designs of this group: a figure of which only the arm is preserved, raises a ring over a tree. In Old-Babylonian designs the ring is usually held by a male deity, on Neo-Assyrian cylinders by a goddess.⁷⁹ Since there is no other representation of a figure holding this emblem in the present collection of impressions from Nuzi, the character of the figure on 662 must remain undetermined.

Turning now to the Syrian elements of the sealings so far discussed, we find, that they are usually limited to the ancillary motives. These correspond for the most part to designs seen on Syrian seals, but these are rarely faithfully copied.

No. 634 presents in Syrian manner an ancillary motive divided in two registers by a twist, but the appearance of two horned animals, each apparently belonging to a different species, in the same register is unparalleled in Syrian designs, where the animals are either confronted in heraldic manner or portrayed in an attack upon each other.

No. 636* shows in the upper register of the ancillary motive the well-known Syrian design of a sphinx pawing at a gazelle. The large rosette between the horned animals of the lower register, however, as well as the lack of symmetry in this lower com-

⁷⁸ Moortgat, VR p. 37 is inclined to interpret this figure as the "Gottkönig" as warrior. Frankfort, CS p. 168, concedes the possibility of this interpretation but also suggests that the figure may stand for a variety of deities.

⁷⁹ Old-Babylonian examples are Morgan 392, 393; Neo-Assyrian examples are Morgan 693-696.

position and the treatment of the animals' bodies, distinguish this design from genuinely Syrian ancillary motives.

No. 637 introduces a Syrian feature also in the mitre of the god, which appears to be derived from the horned helmets of the Syrian deities and closely resembles the head-gear of the enthroned god on the sealing of Tehip-tilla, No. 663. The row of men in the upper register of the ancillary motive is unquestionably copied from some Syrian example (e.g. Morgan 972, 989); the nude female placed at their side, however, never occurs in this manner on any Syrian designs. Again, the figure before the bull recalls such Syrian representations as Morgan 942 and 943, but the mannikin is here seated before the lion on a little stool, a representation for which there is only a single Syrian parallel, Southesk Qd 8. On this seal in the Southesk Collection, however, the figure wears a long robe and appears to have an animal head.

No. 638 shows a god with the same Syrianized horned mitre as on No. 637. Moreover the "tree" which he holds is identical with that of No. 637. The cylinders of Nos. 637 and 638 may therefore have been engraved by the same man. This is probably also true of No. 639 which has been placed here for that reason. The row of mannikins in the ancillary motive recalls that of No. 637 and the semi-kneeling mannikin supporting (?) a bull's head with one hand, is depicted in the same posture as the mannikin in the lower register of No. 637. Despite the fact that the mannikin with the bull's head gives the impression of being a Syrian design there is no exact Syrian parallel known for this motive.

No. 640* shows a Syrian motive in the griffin attacking a recumbent antelope, however, the rearing posture of the monster is not often found on Syrian designs.⁸⁰ It is a far more vivid rendering of the monster's attack than the usual Syrian scheme which is found on No. 643 and which shows the griffin merely pawing at his victim.

No. 642* deviates from the Syrian convention for the ancillary motives by the rampant posture of the animals. On Syrian cylinders such animals are seen in recumbent, sitting or standing postures, generally, for reasons of space.

Both Nos. 646 and 647 recall Syrianized ancillary designs already encountered in this group. No. 646 shows a sphinx and horned animal resembling the motive in the upper register of No. 636; No. 647 shows a mannikin kneeling above a lion with a bull's head before him, recalling the corresponding figure on No. 639. It may be noted that the mannikin on No. 647 is placed between two vertical lines. These lines are the vestiges of a former inscription and indicate that the original of No. 647 was a re-cut cylinder.

Nos. 648 and 649 present a Syrian design in the confronted griffins of the lower register. They correspond, for example, to the design in the upper register of Berlin 521.

A Syrianized motive is again presented in the lower register of No. 650*, namely a lion attacking a stag. It may be added, however, that stags are not very frequent on Syrian designs. The upper register of No. 650* shows not a Syrian, but a distinctive Nuzi design in the kneeling antelopes flanking a "tree." Rampant antelopes, again flanking a "tree" are seen on No. 651* as well as on Nos. 653* and 661*. This motive is not found on Syrian cylinders but appears to have been a favorite with the crafts-

⁸⁰ This posture was preserved on the Middle Assyrian designs e.g. Moortgat, AG, Abb. 12, 32, 34, 36 and Morgan 602.

men of Mari where several moulds, portraying this subject, were found (cf. *Syria* XVIII, 1937 pl. XII: 1).

At the side of the rampant antelopes with "tree" on No. 651* are a small griffin-demon and a mannikin. The griffin-demon who is of Syrian origin will receive special treatment in connection with the group that prominently features this figure (see p. 74).

Like the confronted griffins of Nos. 648 and 649, the confronted antelopes of No. 652 are derived from Syrian examples. Moreover a Syrian parallel can also be cited for the abbreviated lion-club standard in the lower register of the ancillary motive; Morgan 957 shows a very similar standard.

The lion attacking a bull on No. 656 recalls the motive, in the lowest register of the ancillary design on the Syrian cylinder Newell 299, while the curiously twisted posture of the bull in the middle register of our sealing No. 657 may have been an imitation of such a Syrian design of a bull as seen on Newell 297. The lion pawing at an antelope in the lowest register of No. 657, is, of course, a standard Syrian subject.

This concludes the survey of Syrian features on the sealings of the present group. There are, however, a number of noteworthy details among the ancillary designs of these impressions which are not of Syrian origin but which, nevertheless, deserve comment. No. 644, for example, shows a small snake-dragon (over the lion) which brings to mind the Babylonian *mušhuššu*. The dragon appears to be depicted here not with the mitre with which he is seen as the emblematic animal of Marduk in the glyptic designs of the First Dynasty of Babylon,⁸¹ or on contemporary clay plaques,⁸² but in exactly the same manner as on the Early Dynastic alabaster group from Tell Asmar⁸³ and on late prophylactic plaques.⁸⁴

No. 645 shows the ancillary motive turned at right angles to the principal scene. It presents two suppliant goddesses flanking a semi-kneeling mannikin under a sun-disk.

An interesting detail can be observed on No. 653*. There we find an altar which corresponds to the type depicted on Middle and Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian cylinders, but does not resemble any of the altars portrayed on the cylinders of the foregoing periods.

No. 659 radically differs in the arrangement of the ancillary motive from the other sealings assembled here. The vertical composition which can be observed on this impression is a typically Mitannian feature (see p. 103). Moreover, the posture of the hero at the right, who places his foot on the back of the lion and brandishes a weapon, is one of "violent action" such as was introduced in the Mesopotamian repertoire by the Mitannian engravers (see also p. 56 and p. 107).

A hero in contest with a lion is seen in the ancillary motive of No. 660. This revival of the contest scenes not only on the cylinders of the Common Style but also, as shown by Nos. 659 and 660, on those of the Elaborate Style, foreshadows the themes of Assyrian glyptic, where fights and contests predominate.

No. 661* presents two noteworthy details: the first is the sun-wheel placed on a standard which is grasped by two bull-men. The representation recalls the scene on an

⁸¹ E. g. Morgan 387-390 and BN 132.

⁸² Cf. Van Buren MF p. 9 fig. 8.

⁸³ Cf. *Iraq* I p. 9 pl. I: c.

⁸⁴ Cf. Woolley, JRAS 1926 p. 695 pl. XI fig. 9.

altar of the Middle Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁸⁵ The second interesting feature is the mask of the nude, bearded hero placed between griffin and sphinx. This mask, as previously noted by other scholars⁸⁶ appears to have enjoyed special popularity among the Mitannian artists. An unusual detail in the present representation is the loop on top of his head. It may be a third curl, balancing those on his temples, but also recalls the loops on the figures in the mould found at Nuzi.⁸⁷

GROUP XVIII (Pl. XXXIII, Nos. 663-677)

This group manifests Syrian influence not only in the ancillary motives but also in the principal scenes. The number of these sealings is relatively small and they vary considerably in subject matter and style. The imprints again cover all three generations from Tehip-tilla to Tarmi-tilla.

It is interesting to note that No. 663, the seal of Tehip-tilla which he inherited from his father⁸⁸ is cut in this Syrianizing style. Apparently Puhi-senni desired to have the rich Syrian engraving, which is characterized especially by the luxurious garments, imitated on his cylinder. The most salient Syrian features on No. 663 are the *crux ansata* and the garments of the deities. The Egyptian *crux ansata* or "ankh" frequently occurs on Syrian cylinders, where it is due to Egyptian influence. On the Nuzi imprint the cross-bars of this sign have been omitted, marking its debased rendering. The garments show the heavy borders which are so characteristic of the Syrian designs (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 269); moreover, the head-gear of the gods is derived from the horned helmet worn by the Syrian Weather-god (e.g. Morgan 964, 966, 993). On the seal of Tehip-tilla, however, the spike has been transformed into a drilling. The spear on which the god in ascending posture rests his hand is a distinctive Syrian feature.⁸⁹ The globe-staff, on the other hand, is probably derived from Babylonian prototypes.

Perhaps No. 664, which is only partially preserved but appears to show the same type of figures as No. 663, should be associated with the foregoing imprint.

No. 665 shows a wealth of Syrian features rendered in a heavy manner which bears all the marks of an awkward copyist. The winged god is rendered with the helmet and horizontally ridged skirt of the Syrian Weather-god. He holds in each hand a slain

⁸⁵ Cf. Unger, ABK p. 101 fig. 30; see also pp. 66/7.

⁸⁶ Cf. Moortgat, VR p. 62, discussion of pl. D: 2 and Berlin 579 and Herzfeld, AMI IX p. 8. On the cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty, the head of the nude bearded hero, often together with that of the bull-man, was also placed in the field (e.g., Morgan 402); however, they probably were inserted in lieu of the entire figures and were not used in a decorative manner, as on the Mitannian designs.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Nuzi* vol. II pl. 56 G. The mould was excavated in pavement III (cf. *Nuzi* vol. I p. 24); the horse, however, if really depicted on this mould, would indicate the Mitannian origin of the piece.

⁸⁸ Cf. Purves, AJSL LVII p. 164.

⁸⁹ Frequently the Syrian Weather-god is seen carrying a spear, e.g. Newell 302, 303, but also other Syrian deities and even worshippers are pictured with this weapon.

animal, perhaps a hare, and may thus be characterized as a hunting deity, an unknown figure on truly Syrian designs.⁹⁰ A second god, apparently wearing the same type of head-dress but rendered without wings, faces a Syrian goddess who is characterized by her square, horned mitre. The Hathor-head⁹¹ and the *crux ansata* placed in the field complete the Syrian inventory of this sealing.⁹²

The *crux ansata* also marks No. 666* as a sealing with strong Syrian affinities. The lower part of the symbol is enlarged in such manner as to produce the effect of a stand. The suppliant goddess and short-skirted worshipper or hero, as well as the figure who carries a weapon over his shoulder and faces the inscription, might correspond in the style of engraving to No. 719, the second seal of Tehip-tilla, inherited and used by his son Enna-mati.

No. 667 appears to resemble the style of the foregoing imprint. The hero shows the same silhouette as the hero or worshipper on No. 666*. Neither the contest group, however, nor the nude female⁹³ are of Syrian origin.

An interesting representation is found on No. 668. A personage, apparently a woman (she is beardless and wears the long, plain robe usually donned by female figures on the Nuzi sealings), holds with both hands a stick which she also supports with the back of her neck. Performed by a male figure, this gesture is twice encountered on Syrian cylinders, Morgan 925 and Brett 82. Another curious feature on No. 668 is the two-pointed object⁹⁴ which the figure in ascending posture seems to raise on his palm, and which is also supported by the attendant facing him. The meaning of the entire scene escapes me.

The clear-cut, careful engraving observed on No. 668 is also found on No. 669, but too little of the scene is preserved to give sufficient indication of its contents.

No. 670 attempts a copy of the Syrian Weather-god: his posture and pigtail correspond to those on such Syrian cylinders as Louvre A 914-918, but, instead of the typical Syrian attributes (snake, leash of the bull, and axe), he holds here the lightning fork, and instead of the spiked and horned Syrian helmet, he wears a square, horned head-gear. The suppliant priestess and small nude female are again un-Syrian. Even the ancillary motive shows a decidedly un-Syrian feature in the typical Nuzi twist.

The manner of engraving the pigtail of the god on No. 671 appears to relate this imprint to the foregoing one. It may be noted that the god holds a weapon in each hand without touching the hindlegs of the bull; the inverted posture of this animal on No. 671 has therefore become completely absurd. The Nuzi engraver's lack of

⁹⁰ Only demons, as on Morgan 910, or offerers (cf. the figure before the god on the same cylinder) are represented in this manner on Syrian cylinders.

⁹¹ For remarks on this "face," cf. Frankfort, CS p. 265-266.

⁹² Other examples of such Mitannian copies of Syrian designs are Morgan 1025, 1026, Berlin 540, Byblos pl. CXXIV 1658, Newell 326.

⁹³ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 282: "The goddess withdrawing her robes is absent from Mitannian seals, and the naked woman . . . is related with the full-face naked woman of Babylonian glyptic."

⁹⁴ The refill for a brazier depicted in the tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes (*Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egypt. Exp.* N. Y. 1933 vol. IX pl. VII) has the same shape and it therefore seems possible that the two-pointed object on No. 667 should be interpreted as incense cones.

acquaintance with the original Sargonid contest-scheme which he has bungled so badly on No. 671 is noteworthy, as the same scheme was correctly preserved on Syrian cylinders (e.g. BN 435) and is included with only slight modifications in the impression of Sauššattar.⁹⁵

No. 672 shows perhaps the same contest scheme with a lion replacing the bull. The engraving of this sealing and the use of rosettes in the ancillary motive recall No. 653.

No. 673 presents a motive for which no exact parallels could be found on other Nuzi designs, namely, a goddess surrounded by animals and monsters and a realistically rendered tree.

The motive of Nos. 674-5 is also found on the impressions made by Syrian originals on the Nuzi tablets. Both sealings show the two confronted suppliant goddesses which we find again on Nos. 1004 and 1006, as well as on the Syrian cylinder Morgan 960. The griffin-demon and bull-man grasping the standard on No. 674 introduce a typical Nuzi feature, as does the twist of two loops on No. 675.

No. 676 has been included here because the manner of engraving and the ancillary motive relate the sealing more closely to Syrian designs than to the sealings presenting a pair of bull-men assembled in Group XXIII. While no exact Syrian parallel can be cited, two bull-men with a standard nevertheless recall cylinders like Southesk Qd 5. The fragment No. 677 has been joined to No. 676, again principally because of the rounded manner of engraving which relates this piece to the foregoing.

GROUP XIX (Pls. XXXIV-XXXV, Nos. 678-708)

This group presents sealings of early Kassite glyptic.⁹⁶ The contemporaneity and close relation with Nuzi art are best illustrated by the fact that it is at present impossible to ascertain whether a sealing should be ascribed to a foreign, Kassite engraver, or whether it should be taken to be a Nuzi product cut in Kassite style. For this reason all imprints of Kassite character have been included here. They range over all three generations of Nuzi.

As far as possible the few indications that are given for the chronology of Early Kassite glyptic⁹⁷ have here been drawn into consideration. They have resulted in the following arrangement of this group.

Nos. 678-682, relatively large sealings with elaborate inscriptions, may be transitional from Babylon I to Kassite. This appears to be true especially of No. 680, which

⁹⁵ Cf. *Nuzi II* pl. 118: I, the group in the lower left corner. The difference between this group and such Sargonid representations as Brussels 616, 451 and De Clercq 48 lies in the smaller size of the animal and the fact that the hero places his foot on the animal's neck rather than its head.

⁹⁶ I divide the Kassite cylinders into an early and a late group, designating as Early Kassite those cylinders which are exemplified by Frankfort, CS pl. XXX k-m, and as Late Kassite those cylinders which show the same type of design and modelling as the Middle Assyrian seals, but contain at the same time lengthy inscriptions (e.g. Morgan 586 and 587)—as well as seals of the type of Morgan 590 and 591, Berlin 560 and 561, which Herzfeld (*AMI VIII* 110 ff.) included in his 12th-11th century Isin II group.

⁹⁷ Cf. Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. IV/2 p. 371.

presents a crudely drawn figure of a Babylonian suppliant goddess, recalling such late Babylon I cylinders as Morgan 565.

No. 683 has no parallel among the extant Kassite cylinders. The closest resemblance that can be established is with the group to which belong Nos. 613-618 of Group XVI.

Nos. 684-686, the last of which may derive from the early period of Tehip-tilla, can be associated with the cylinder of a son of Karaindaš, Philadelphia 530, because the same female suppliant (without the scarf of the priestess seen, for example, on Nos. 629 and 630) appears both on the imprints and on the cylinder.

No. 687 shows larger figures than the three foregoing sealings and cannot be related to any dated Kassite cylinders.

Nos. 688-697 show considerable similarity in the rendering of the figures. The relation of No. 688 to a seal of the time of Kurigalzu (probably the king of that name who was the son of Kadašman-Harbe), Philadelphia 531, may therefore be taken to indicate that the cylinders were all made at that time. The relation consists in the distinctive manner in which the mantle of the worshipper is rendered. In realistic manner the two bordered edges of the material are shown, namely the edge which is drawn over his shoulder and the one which hangs from his arm. Usually the robes of the Kassite figures are simplified to show only one line of border. It seems possible, furthermore, that the imprints Nos. 688-697 were made by cylinders carved at Nuzi, perhaps in one specific workshop. This may be inferred from No. 692* which shows a vertical twist beside the inscription. No extant Kassite cylinders show this feature but it occurs again on the Nuzi sealing No. 712.

A few details on Nos. 688-697 deserve attention. The first is the god with scimitar on No. 688 whose flounced robe and horned mitre correspond far more closely to Old-Babylonian designs than any of the figures on the extant Kassite cylinders. Another noteworthy detail is presented by No. 689 where the worshipper wears a turban-like head-dress reminiscent of that worn by the worshipper on BN 428.

No. 694 deviates from the other sealings by the type of mitre given the deities and by the exceptionally large size of the impression. Perhaps this imprint, which, by the similarity in the mitres, might be related to Philadelphia 563 (an impression from Nippur), should therefore be regarded as a foreign import.

The subjects of the sealings just discussed consist of: a worshipper before a god or a figure with scimitar, on Nos. 683-693; two deities (one of them probably a suppliant goddess) on No. 694; and two identical figures on Nos. 695-697. On Nos. 696 and 697 these figures carry scimitars. This subject appears to be specifically Kassite and is found, for example, on Philadelphia 561.

Nos. 698-702 again show one figure with scimitar facing a worshipper; they differ from Nos. 690-693 which portray the same subject, in the appearance of small, carefully modelled animals used as filling motives. The omission of these filling motives on Nos. 690-693, however, is probably accidental rather than due to a difference in time. Nevertheless, the carefully modelled animals of which Nos. 704 and 707 present the most distinctive examples, probably provided one of the sources of inspiration for the Middle Assyrian and Middle Kassite modelled engraving of animals. It may be added that the hunting god (or king, see p. 48 and 113) on No. 707 raising with one hand the game and holding his scimitar in the other, is a typical figure of this period.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ For comment on a hunting god or demon introduced at this period, cf. Moortgat, BK p. 44 and pl. XXIII: 3.

The representation of No. 708, a Tehip-tilla period sealing, does not invalidate the statement made above concerning the modelled engraving of animals, because the rendering and composition of the design are unique and have no relation to Late Kassite and Middle Assyrian glyptic.

GROUP XX (Pl. XXXVI, Nos. 709-724)

This group, mainly from Enna-mati's period, presents impressions with inscriptions that were probably affixed under Kassite influence, whereas the designs of the imprints manifest an independent Mitannian style, characterized by the free composition and violence of action as well as by the representation of figures which are characteristic of the Mitannian repertoire.

The Mitannian style of engraving on Nos. 709-724 is manifested in the composition, the rendering of the individual figures, and the choice of motives. Taking first the composition, we find the typically Mitannian feature of "free treatment of the surface" (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 273). This feature may be best observed on No. 712, where the design is built up like a pyramid in contrast to the former, Mesopotamian principle of considering "the space to be decorated" . . . "as a narrow band which just accommodated the tallest figures" (cf. Frankfort *ibid.*). The base of the pyramid on No. 712 is formed by the mounts of the two gods, the apex by their bundles of lightning and the altar with burning flame placed between them. This pyramidal composition is found again on No. 720*, where also the strict symmetry, another characteristic trait of Mitannian art, is strongly manifested. The significance of this compositional feature lies mainly in its influence upon the Middle Assyrian glyptic; such early Middle Assyrian cylinders as Morgan 592 and Ward SC 713 show a similar arrangement of the figures.

Another distinctive feature is the frequent portrayal of violent action. No. 713, for example, depicts a lion attacked from the front and rear. The beast with its head turned toward the more active of the two attackers, is pictured as it falls forward, and its head drops lifelessly on its back.

A similarly dramatic action is portrayed on No. 714. Although the upper part of the sealing is not preserved, and it is therefore uncertain whether this originally Sargonid motive (see p. 54) was traditionally rendered here or modified as on No. 671, the hero's posture and the indication of taut muscles in the bull's neck nevertheless convey a powerful impression of the violence with which this contest was thought to have been waged.

No. 714 also demonstrates the second characteristic trait of these Mitannian sealings: the frequent realism in the rendering of human or divine figures. Not only are their movements freer than on Babylonian, Syrian, or Kassite designs, but in some instances, such as No. 714 and Nos. 726-732 of the following group, the thorough modelling of the bodies equals the achievements of Sargonid, Middle Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian engravers.

Finally, most of the figures encountered on these designs are characteristic of the Mitannian repertoire. The most prominent of these is the Weather-god, usually standing on a winged lion-dragon who emits fire or venom (see also No. 92). This

figure, of Sargonid origin, must have been handed down to the Mitannians by the Cappadocian or "provincial Babylonian" engravers. In contrast to the artists of the First Babylonian Dynasty, who discarded the lion-dragon almost completely in favor of the "bull" as the mount of the Weather-god, these peripheral seal-cutters retained a Weather-god on a lion-dragon⁹⁹ or lion side by side with a Weather-god who was depicted standing on a bull. On Morgan 896 we even find both deities together, approaching a major god. However, on that Cappadocian example the god on the bull holds a curved weapon, not the lightning symbol. Nevertheless, some connection may exist between Morgan 896 and our sealing No. 712, where the two deities just mentioned appear to be facing each other, each with a lightning symbol in his hand. This representation may indicate that, despite the identity of their emblem (the lightning symbol), the two "Weather-gods" were not identical.¹⁰⁰ It may be added that No. 717 presents a god on a bull in a rendering that recalls the Babylonian portrayals of the Weather-god, and on No. 730 of the next group we find a bull placed in the upper field before the Weather-god on the winged lion-dragon.¹⁰¹

A figure which is distinctly Mitannian is the demon with legs formed by entwined snakes on No. 720. Unlike the other examples of this figure,¹⁰² however, these legs here end in bird's claws. Lastly, the human standard-bearer depicted on Nos. 715-717 is a Mitannian figure for which no precedents are known in other glyptic groups.

A few interesting details of the sealings contained in the present group demand attention. On No. 709* sun, moon and star are placed together in the same manner as on the Kassite boundary stones (e.g. that of Meliṣipak II, EPHA I p. 265). On No. 710* the head of a stag depicted in front view is exceptional.¹⁰³ The most note-

⁹⁹ Cf. Berlin 516 and Newell 220, the second seal having been cut in the same crude manner as Berlin 516 which was found at Assur and which I would assign to the "provincial Babylonian" group. Also BN 487 determined as belonging to the Second Syrian group by Frankfort. See Note 65. (CS, pl. XLII d) shows the Weather-god placing his foot on a small lion-dragon.

¹⁰⁰ It seems possible that the Weather-god on a lion-dragon should be identified with Tešup, the principal god of the Mitannian (cf. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El Amarna Tafeln* Leipzig, 1915 vol. II p. 1044).

¹⁰¹ It seems that this Mitannian concept of the Weather-god was inherited by the Neo-Babylonian Adad (cf. F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Leipzig, 1903 p. 17, Figure 2 where he holds both lion-dragon and bull by their reins.). In Assyria, however, the older tradition, derived from the First Dynasty of Babylon, appears to have won out. Adad was again placed on the bull, and, if represented in connection with the lion-dragon, it was only in pursuit and attack of the monster (cf. Layard, *A second series of the Monument of Nineveh*, London, 1853, pl. 5, where the lightning symbol appears to characterize the god as Adad). Only a goddess, probably Ištar, is depicted standing on the lion-dragon in the representations of the Neo-Assyrian cylinders (e.g. Morgan 691, Louvre A 681).

¹⁰² Examples of a creature with entwined legs are Frankfort, CS text-figs. 87 and 90, and L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (Brit. Mus. Dept. of Eg. and Ass. Ant., 1912) pl. 30, face D. The fact that the demon's feet here end in bird claws recalls the representation on Louvre A 607.

¹⁰³ The stag's head here placed in the field might be explained by the fact that the

worthy representation in the entire group, however, is No. 711. Here we find two harpists as secondary figures. As far as the badly preserved impression permits judgment, the harpist at the left is bearded and thus characterized as a man; the one at the right is a woman. In the field between them is a sistrum corresponding to the one held by the figure seated behind a harpist on the Sargonid cylinder Louvre A 172.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to find that both instruments occur together twice; they were probably used in certain ritual chants.¹⁰⁵ As to the harps here depicted, they correspond to the type of "angular vertical harp" which is depicted on two clay plaques, one from Larsa (RA XXXIV p. 40 fig. 11) and the other from Ašnunak (ibid., p. 39 fig. 9), both dating from about 2000 B. C.¹⁰⁶ Under each of the two harps on No. 711 is a small human figure, a woman under the harp of the male musician and a mannikin under that of the female one. It is impossible to decide whether these are filling motives or have some connection with the harpists.

The three sealings Nos. 709-711, each of which presents at least one exceptional feature, show such similarity in the engraving that we may take them to have been produced by one artist. Moreover, the fact that the mount of the Weather-god is not winged on any of these three designs distinguishes them from most of the other sealings representing this deity. It is therefore interesting to note the variations in the scenes and even in the attributes of the deity: on No. 709 he only holds the rein of his mount, on No. 710 he carries a bow, and on No. 711 he holds in one hand a scimitar and in the other the rein. It may be recalled how stereotyped are the patterns followed by most of the engravers of the Common Style. Variations were introduced by such drastic means as the reversal of the "tree" or the ancillary motive (see especially Group VII). In contrast to this, the artists who worked on the hard materials and in the superior technique of the Elaborate Style placed a more or less different, often new design on each of the cylinders which they fashioned. This makes it extremely difficult to recognize the work of one and the same engraver in the groups of imprints at present under discussion. Suggestions that Nos. 715 and 716 (showing the same short-skirted, sturdy standard-bearer), Nos. 718 and 719 (both the same size, presenting a god and worshipper at the side of a standard) and Nos. 721-724 (which show less care in the manner of engraving) all derive from the hand of individual seal-cutters—therefore cannot be substantiated.

stag was occasionally the equivalent of the bull within the Mitannian area also (see note 40).

¹⁰⁴ Sachs, GW p. 147-148, mentions that this instrument usually appears in the hands of women.

¹⁰⁵ The same combination of the two instruments also occurs in Egypt (cf. Brunner-Traut TAAE Abb. 22) on a stone block from the temple of Hatshepsut.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Harpe en Asie Occidentale Ancienne*, RA XXXIV, 29 ff. An additional representation of this type of harp is seen on the Middle Assyrian cylinder Lajard, C.D.M. pl. XXXIX: 8. The same harp was still in use at the time of Ashurbanipal and is depicted on his reliefs in the hands of both Assyrians (Sachs, GW pl. 124) and Elamites (Paterson, *Palace of Sinacherib* pl. 65-66).

¹⁰⁷ This cylinder cannot be dated precisely because it is not reproduced in a photograph.

GROUP XXI (Pl. XXXVII, Nos. 725-742)

This group contains the best products of Mitannian glyptic art as manifested in the impressions of Nuzi. The style has already been characterized in the description of Group XX. Many details of the designs on the impressions of this group were taken over by the Middle Assyrian engravers. Most of the imprints are from the time of Tehip-tilla and Enna-mati.

No. 725, the first sealing of this group was impressed on a tablet which was probably written for Winnirke, the mother of Tehip-tilla. A comparison of No. 725 with No. 726 (the sealing of Tarmija the judge, son of Unap-tae) shows that both impressions contain the same motive, two genii flanking a pole that supports the sun-disk. Even the gestures of the genii are almost identical; on No. 725 they touch the disk with their finger-tips and grasp the pole; on No. 726 the genii touch or support the disk in the same manner, but grasp the streamers that emerge from the pole with the other hand. Further relation exists in the designs of the sun-disks, the one placed in the sky on No. 725 and the winged emblem of No. 726. The latter merely shows a six-pointed instead of a four-pointed star and consequently six instead of four drillings between the points.

In regard to composition, No. 725 uses two different motives: genii with sun-standard at the right, and at the left a deity (presumably a weather-god) with the sun-disk in the sky before him. On No. 726 the representations of the sun-disk are condensed into one representation, that of the winged emblem on a pole; moreover, the deity has been omitted, and the genii are the sole figures of this perfectly balanced symmetrical design.

Other features which distinguish No. 726 from No. 725 are the thorough modelling of the bodies, which is not apparent on No. 725, the novel shape given the wings of the sun-disk and the genii on No. 726, and the distinctive form of their mitres.

On No. 726, we find further noticeable details in the feet of the genii, which are shaped like the claws of birds, in the coverts of the wings, indicated by drillings, and in the shape of the head-gears, which recall the Phrygian cap. Every one of these details of design was passed on to the Middle Assyrian engravers. We find on De Clercq 357, an early Middle Assyrian cylinder, a genie with bird feet; the coverts of the wings are indicated by drillings on the Middle Assyrian imprint Weber 56 and on the cylinders Frankfort, CS pl. XXXII b, and Morgan 595, and, finally, the head-gear, a "Phrygian cap" with two horns converging in front, as well as the hair brushed up in a curl instead of the earlier "chignon," is seen on the Assyrian cylinder, Lajard CDM pl. XXXI: 4. This head-gear is so distinctive that it can be used as a criterion for the sealings belonging to this group. We find it again on No. 727, which shows the same pair of genii as No. 726; despite the fact that the streamers of the pole are here omitted the gesture of the genii remains unchanged. This shows that even one and the same engraver stereotyped and schematized his designs; once a "type" like the semi-kneeling genii was evolved, it was repeated identically regardless of the changing context.

The group consisting of bull and lion which fills the rest of the scene on No. 727 is remarkable for the posture of the lion's fore-paws: in a realistic manner the lion

buries them both in the flank of its victim. This parallel design of the paws contrasts with the originally Sargonid scheme, where one paw is raised and the other lowered.¹⁰⁸

Gods or genii, again wearing the characteristic horned cap, are represented on No. 728* in a scene which demands considerable attention. They are attacking a figure who has the long locks and beard of the age-old "nude bearded hero" but appears to be clad in a kilt-like garment which shows three ringlets on either side. Similar ringlets can be observed on the bodies of the bull-men to be discussed in connection with No. 734; on Assyrian designs they exclusively indicate curled tufts of hair.¹⁰⁹ Both gods or genii grasp the victim's hair with one hand, the figure at the right holds a dagger in the other hand, the one at the left of the victim seems to reach for a weapon handed him by the goddess also represented on this scene. Both gods wear the typical triple girdles with long tasseled ends that fall between the legs (see note 17). The mythological event underlying this representation is probably the "death of Humbaba," the slaying of a monstrous giant by Gilgameš and Enkidu. Opitz (AfO V 1928-1929 207 ff.) has, in my opinion, successfully interpreted a Babylonian clay plaque as illustrating this passage from the Gilgameš Epic. Our No. 728 differs only in small details from the Babylonian example. These differences lie mainly in the composition of the scene, which is symmetrical on No. 728*, and in the fact that the attackers are characterized as deities; the attendant on the plaque is transformed into a goddess on our sealing. This may bear out Opitz's suggestion that the attendant on the plaque is an emissary of a deity; in our case, the deity herself is depicted aiding the attackers. The victim, supposedly Humbaba, is characterized on the plaque by long hanks of hair hanging from his nose, a monstrous face depicted in front view with wide mouth, claws instead of hands, and paws instead of feet. Of all these details, only the long hair, which is identical with that of the nude bearded hero, is recognizable on our sealing, and without the aid of Opitz's article the obvious interpretation would have been "the nude bearded hero attacked." Even less detail than on No. 728* is discernible on Nos. 729 and 768-773, which depict the same theme. Even if the Nuzi engravers were still aware of the specific details which distinguished the monster Humbaba from the nude bearded hero, they made no perceptible effort to portray them on the usual rendering of this motive. It is therefore quite natural that the Assyrian artist who copied this motive should have taken for granted that the victim was the well-known nude bearded hero, and drew their renderings of the theme accordingly (cf. Morgan 686 and Berlin 608).

As to the remarkable frequency of the motive on the Nuzi sealings, the interpretation of the theme as being concerned with the monster Humbaba might furnish the clue: on the Cappadocian tablets the mask of "Humbaba" as the Mesopotamians thought to see it in the entrails of the sheep,¹¹⁰ is frequently used as the design on the stamp-

¹⁰⁸ This attitude was necessitated by the lozenge effect which the Sargonid engravers apparently wished to produce by the posture of the hero's and victim's arms and paws (e.g. Morgan 159, 161, 164-167).

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Morgan 594 and 608; even the Neo-Assyrian murals retained this feature (cf. A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1849, pl. 87.)

¹¹⁰ Cf. Sidney Smith, *The Face of Humbaba* (*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XI 1924 107 ff.).

seals.¹¹¹ The continuance of this popularity in the Nuzi designs points once again to the Cappadocian traditions which appear to have been preserved in Mitannian glyptic.

Returning now to the discussion of the individual sealings in Group XXI, we find No. 729 engraved with the same motive as No. 728*; the only difference being that the attackers here are not characterized as deities. Nevertheless, the rendering of the scene is so closely related to No. 727 that it seems possible to ascribe both original cylinders to the same artist.

No. 730 has already been mentioned previously in connection with representations of the Weather-god (see p. 57). The most distinctive feature is the scorpion-man in an acrobatic posture, bending his head to the ground. While there is no factual resemblance between this and the acrobatic postures observed in Group XII, it nevertheless belongs to the same type of exaggerated violence of movement (see note 255) for which there is no precedent in Babylonian or Syrian glyptic.

Despite the fact that No. 730 is of larger size than Nos. 726 and 727, it nevertheless seems possible that the sealing was made by the same engraver, because scorpion-men similar to the one seen on No. 730 occur on an unpublished royal sealing from Nuzi SMN 1160 which conforms to the proportions of Nos. 726 and 727, and manifests the same type of engraving both for the design and inscription.

The following sealing, No. 731*, likewise is the work of the engraver of Tarmia's cylinder." The beautiful modelling of the figures and the belt that encircles their waist, the identity in the design of the wings and the rosette with the none-too-large central drilling placed in the field, establish sufficient links with Nos. 726 and 727 to bear out this statement.

As to the scene represented, we find here a Weather-god on his lion-dragon flanked by two winged genii (or demons). The one at the right holds a cup,¹¹² the one at the left the fruit of a date-palm, as can be ascertained by comparing the object with those portrayed on a Sargonid cylinder depicting a date-harvest (Hague 18). Between the genii (or demons) is a bird. To some extent, this scene foreshadows Neo-Assyrian representations, where griffin-demons, each holding date-cone and basket, flank a Weather-god (cf. Morgan 702 and Frankfort, CS pl. XXXII g). This relation may be even more strongly indicated by No. 734, where two griffins with a tree form the subsidiary motive. It seems likely that the omission of the "tree" both on No. 734 and on the above-mentioned cylinder Morgan 702 is due to a process of schematization. This may be borne out by the representation on Frankfort, CS pl. XXXII g, where a small tree is visible between the hands of the demon at the left.¹¹³ The demons thus are shown to have been primarily connected with the "tree."

No. 732 probably represented the same scene as No. 731*, but No. 733 replaces the genius or demon with the date-fruit by a worshipper. No. 734, already discussed for

¹¹¹ E. g. Kültepe 35aB, 16aD, 24aA 27aB etc. Occasionally this mask is also found on cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty, e. g. Morgan 383 and 399. For comment on this mask cf. also Hopkins, *Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon story* (*AJA* XXXVIII, 1934), 348 ff.

¹¹² The shape of these cups recalls that of the vessels found at Nuzi (cf. *Nuzi* vol. II pl. 78: P-W) and at Atshana-Alalakh (cf. *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX, pl. XVI: 1).

¹¹³ This seems to contradict Frankfort's suggestion that these demons were meant to protect the god (cf. CS p. 201).

its contents, shows extremely slender griffins with long, graceful wings that vary from the style of No. 726 and the associated sealings and approach even more closely the elegance of the Middle Assyrian designs. No. 735, on the other hand, shows awkward engraving and appears to have been made by an inferior workman who copied the designs made by the engraver of the cylinder of Tarmija. Two indications point to such a possibility. First, the head-gear of the god (which is the same as seen on Nos. 726-728 and 730), and second, the kilts of the demons (which show the same ringlets at the side as "Humbaba" on No. 728, perhaps symbolizing the hairy texture of their garment or the natural covering of their loins). It may be noted that such curls or ringlets also are visible below their knees (see p. 60 for previous reference to this feature). The leonine paws replacing the hoofs of the bull-men are an unusual feature.

No. 736, engraved in the same manner as No. 735, again includes the Weather-god on his lion-dragon, but the figure who principally demands our attention is the nude winged goddess who holds a mirror in each hand. This is the earliest representation of such an object on a glyptic design. Most of the portrayals of figures with mirrors are found on the so-called Syro-Aramean reliefs, dated in the First Millennium B. C.¹¹⁴ The present representation is all the more interesting in view of the epigraphical evidence of mirrors in Tušratta's letter to the king of Egypt. Two silver mirrors with ornate handles in the shape of women are mentioned there in the list of the dowry bestowed upon the Mitannian princess who was sent as a bride to the Egyptian king.¹¹⁵ The dual number of the mirrors may be explained by the fact that for practical use two mirrors are often needed. While the dowry unquestionably included objects for the personal use of the princess (as well as gifts for the king, some of which were in the form of ritual objects), the present representation must express more than the portrayal of a goddess with her toilet articles. Perhaps Furtwaengler's interpretation of a Mycenaean gem showing a goddess with a mirror (AG I pl. II: 21) can be used to elucidate the figure of No. 736. He states that primitive man regards the picture in the mirror in the same manner as the shadow, namely as a manifestation of the soul. The goddess represented with a mirror on the gem is therefore to be regarded as mistress of the souls of the departed (AG III p. 36 and note 1).^{115a}

The only antecedent for a nude winged goddess is the demon of the Burney relief, which Frankfort has convincingly identified with an inhabitant of the Land of Death (AfO XII 1937-39 p. 135).¹¹⁶ It is true that one of the attributes of this demon, the bird claws, is absent from the Mitannian rendering, where the goddess is depicted with

¹¹⁴ Cf. Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* vol. VII pl. 164 b; E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chethiter*, Berlin, 1914 p. 37 fig. 28 and p. 38 fig. 29, and the procession from Carchemish, C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *Carchemish*, The British Museum, 1921. Pt. 2 pl. B 19: a, pl. B 20: b and pl. B 21: a.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Knudtzon, *Die El Amarna Tafeln* I p. 205: 56-59.

^{115a} M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1927 p. 305 note 1 notes that "the mirror is mentioned among the Orphic mysteries (references given by R. Eisler, *Orphisch-dyonisische Mysteriengedanken in der christl. Antike*, Bibl. Warburg, Vorträge 1922-23, II. Teil, p. 98, n. 1)." Nilsson adds, however, that this can hardly be compared to Mycenaean representations. He states furthermore that he mentions Furtwaengler's above-cited interpretation "because of its strangeness."

¹¹⁶ Cf. also Van Buren, AfO XI p. 355, figs. 3-5, for fragments of other plaques rendering this figure.

human feet. On the other hand, we find on an incised vase from Larsa (EPHA I p. 252) a goddess in the same posture as on the Burney relief, lacking only the ring and staff and again the bird claws.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the fact that the demon's posture and general rendering are so faithfully retained on the Larsa vase and on our No. 736 makes it seem possible that the same chthonic figure is represented, the omission of the bird claws being due to the schematization of a well-established type.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the mirrors (their shape lending itself well to replacement of ring and staff), may have been regarded as sufficient indication of the goddess' association with the nether world on No. 736.¹¹⁹

It is impossible to ascertain whether or not the god holding a scimitar upright, and standing at the side of a sun-standard placed on a knoll composed of drillings, is represented in any relation to the goddess and the Weather-god. The manner in which the god's tasseled belt hangs down at the side instead of between the knees is a feature not paralleled elsewhere on the Nuzi sealings.¹²⁰

No. 737 may show the same female deity as No. 736*. As far as the poor state of preservation permits judgment, No. 737 shows a finely executed, freely composed design. A curious feature is presented by the bull. Usually portrayed as the victim in scenes of pursuit or attack, the bull here seems to be racing up to the lion-dragon from the rear, and places his forefoot on the monster's back, attacking him. A bird seems to be perched on the back of the bull. The representation is without parallel and must therefore remain unexplained.

No. 738 is more crudely engraved. Nevertheless, the theme of the sealing is of such importance that its inclusion here, among the most significant of the Nuzi imprints,

¹¹⁷ Cf. also the remarks by Mrs. Van Buren concerning this figure, AfO XI p. 356.

¹¹⁸ Some very striking similarities can be found between the Burney relief and the works of art discovered at Mari, which make it seem possible that the relief derives from this region. The lions from Mari (*Syria* XIX pl. X), for one, show exactly the same frontal mane to which Opitz, in his treatment of the Burney relief (AfO XI p. 352), took exception; also the eyes and ears of the beasts seem to be similarly shaped. Furthermore, the star on the shoulders of the lions, again a point of controversy on the Burney relief, seems to be present on the lions from Mari. As regards the principal figure, her coiffure and face strongly resemble those of the goddess with flowing vase from Mari (*Syria* XVIII pl. XIV: 2). It may therefore be assumed, at least as a working hypothesis, that these figures of winged female demons, not found on earlier Mesopotamian representations, reached Mari, Larsa, and Nuzi as the expression of a specifically Hurrian concept. In this connection, we may point to the fact that the demons on Nos. 726 and 727 are depicted with bird claws instead of feet, and that the demon on the Mitannian or possibly post-Mitannian cylinder Louvre A 607 presents the same feature.

¹¹⁹ Louvre A 781, a transitional piece between Mitannian and Middle Assyrian glyptic, shows an enthroned goddess holding a similar mirror. A. W. Persson (*The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 17, 1942 p. 45) regards this representation as well as the Mycenaean one mentioned p. 62 and note 115a merely as the prototypes of "La toilette de Venus" of later Greek vase painting.

¹²⁰ On Egyptian representations of Philistines, however, the belts with tasseled ends (see note 17) are occasionally represented in the same manner as on No. 736 (cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II pl. 120).

seemed proper. The principal figure of the scene is a snake with the head of a bull and a tail composed of drillings. A god attacks with a spear (or long dagger) the monster which has reared its head, while a Weather-god on a lion-dragon is portrayed at the back of the snake. Only the second lightning fork differentiates this Weather-god from the usual representation on Nuzi sealings. While a pair of goats in the upper register of the design may represent nothing but filling motives, a second dragon (which is not very clearly discernible) almost gives the impression of pertaining to the fighting god, who had to descend from his mount before entering into the contest with the monster.

It seems likely that this monster is the same as represented on a slab from Malatia (Moortgat, BK pl. LXXXII). The drillings which form the tail of the monster on No. 738 are placed above the snake's body on the Malatia relief, where the monster's head is broken off. As on No. 738, only one god is really engaged in the combat, whereas the other is an onlooker.

In addition to this association with a Hittite relief, relations can be established with Neo-Assyrian representations. The scene depicted on Morgan 688 and on a number of other cylinders¹²¹ shows a god attacking a bull-headed snake in a scene which is unquestionably derived from examples like No. 738. Even the globes, although reduced in number to six, have been retained on Morgan 688 which has been usually interpreted as the fight of Marduk against Tiāmat (cf. Ward, SC pp. 201). Whatever myth may finally be decided as having formed the basis for these Assyrian representations, it now seems certain that the inspiration for their pictorial expression was received from the Mitannians.

Nos. 739 and 740* again portray the Weather-god on the lion-dragon. While the first imprint is only a fragment, the second appears to present an interesting feature in the gesture of the figure who stands before the god and holds a kneeling bull by a cord. Owing to the fact that No. 740* also is none too well preserved, the following suggestion can only be made with reservations namely that the figure holding the cord is to be identified with the god on the bull of No. 712, and is represented here in an act of homage before the superior deity.

Nos. 741* and 742 remain to be discussed. Both show the Weather-god on a lion instead of on a winged lion-dragon, and in both cases the lion attacks a goat. This attack recalls the contest-friezes of the First Babylonian Dynasty (see note 59). Especially No. 741*, showing a goat in upright sitting posture, bears out this relation. On the Babylonian representations these contests appear to be associated with the cycle of Nergal figures.¹²² The fact that on these two Nuzi sealings the Weather-god has appropriated these figures indicates that the glyptic artists vested this deity with some of the attributes of the Babylonian Nergal.

It may be mentioned that No. 742 shows the Weather-god with Syrian horned helmet and mace as well as the seven globes (representing probably the Pleiades), which are found on the Syrian cylinder Morgan 964. The wings, however, with which the god is here represented differentiate this representation from those of the Syrian Weather-god.

¹²¹ E.g. Berlin 680, and A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929 p. 431 Abb. 239 b.

¹²² Cf. the discussion of Morgan 359-370 in the forthcoming vol. I of the *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*.

GROUP XXII (Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. 743-761a)

The sealings of this group show extremely small figures, executed carefully with considerable use of a tiny drill. With few exceptions, the figures, probably mostly deities, wear the round cap with narrow brim instead of the horned mitre. Another characteristic feature of this group is the frequent occurrence of a twist either framing the design or otherwise included in it. As in the preceding two groups, these sealings present a great variety of subjects, some of which continued into the Middle Assyrian period. Most of the impressions are from the end of the Nuzi period.

No. 743* presents a Weather-god on a lion which vomits fire. Owing probably to the fact that the god's usual mount, the winged lion-dragon sitting on his haunches, is here used in the ancillary motive for the two antithetical monsters flanking the "tree," this creature is here depicted standing and without wings. This shows how arbitrarily the engravers changed iconographical details to suit their artistic purposes.

No. 744, though only partly preserved, presents a very interesting feature in the god or hero (wearing a round cap, not a mitre) on the stag. Parallels for the representation of a stag as the mount of a mythological figure can be adduced only from a Cappadocian imprint and a Hittite relief.¹²³ Both are from Asia Minor, where the original home of that animal must be sought.¹²⁴

Sufficient traces of the design have been preserved on No. 745 to show a Weather-god on his winged lion-dragon before an altar which supports a winged sun-disk (the figure on the other side of the altar cannot be recognized). The term "altar" is one interpretation of the structure depicted on No. 745, another is that of a gate or niche. In support of the latter theory, a small clay relief, found in the layers of the second millennium at Babylon (cf. Andrae, *WVDOG LVIII* p. 22-23 and Abb. 7), may be mentioned. Andrae suggests that this plaque, representing a deity in a niche, portrays the manner in which the statue of the goddess Aššuritu was set up in her temple at Aššur, and that the plaque was probably made in that city and taken from there to Babylon.¹²⁵ Comparison of the design of our sealing, No. 745, with the "Kultnische" from Babylon reveals that their shape is identical, and that the sun-disk, although not winged on the plaque, rests on the "niche" in the same manner as on the structure of

¹²³ Cf. Clay, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*, vol. IV pl. 85 d, and Moortgat, *BK*, pl. LXXIV: 2.

¹²⁴ Cf. Bittel-Güterbock, *Boğhazköy* p. 44 and note 1 (see also note 40).

¹²⁵ A far better preserved plaque with identical representation has been published by Mrs. Van Buren (*ClF* fig. 255 No. 1006). Mrs. Van Buren's dating (l. c. p. 207), however, is erroneous; the correct date is the second millennium, following Andrae. Aside from the archaeological evidence adduced by Andrae, the plaque itself gives indication of this date in the rendering of the nude bearded heroes. These wear short kilts, a type of representation introduced only in the latter half of the second millennium (see p. 36 and note 52). Moreover, the shape of the standards is too closely related to those on the plinth of Tukultî-Ninurta I (Unger, *ABK* p. 101 fig. 30) to warrant a considerable discrepancy in date between the plaque and the plinth.

No. 745. Even the stars on either side above the recess on No. 745 present a feature related to the two standards flanking the "niche" on the plaque.

Turning now to the drillings which are placed inside this gate or niche on No. 745, we are reminded of the spots of light color that indicate the stars in the "gate of heaven" from Mari (*Syria* XVIII, 1937 p. 352 fig. 14). It seems likely therefore, that the drillings on No. 745 likewise represent stars; the reason why they were indicated in this manner, instead of that of the two stars above the structure, was obviously the lack of space.

The evidence adduced here seems to indicate that the structure of No. 745 should be interpreted as a "gate of heaven" on which rests the winged sun. This interpretation may be confirmed by a Middle Assyrian seal impression (Andrae, l. c. p. 29 Abb. 8), where we find a gate with a winged sun-disk placed above the crenellation in a more detailed and realistic but nevertheless "synonymous" representation.

A different object is supported by two figures on No. 746*. We find it again on Nos. 907-909, where it is placed in the field without apparent relation to the rest of the design. On the first of these representations a sun and a moon-standard joined together by three horizontal bars form the object. On Nos. 908 and 909 both standards appear to terminate in a disk, and thus to be characterized as sun-standards. Whether the object of No. 746* had a moon and sun or two sun-standards is not ascertainable. It seems possible that this object portrays in abbreviated manner a model of a platform on which such standards were erected. In explanation of this theory we have to draw upon the representation on the plinth of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Unger, ABK p. 101 fig. 30), which may be interpreted in the following manner. The face of the plinth depicts a platform to which three steps lead upward. On the surface of the platform are two sun-standards grasped by bearded heroes with curls; and in the center stands the king. The location of this platform seems to be indicated by the representation on the base of the plinth. It shows on each side five figures climbing over mountains carrying or tugging a rope; in the center are two (or three) figures, too badly preserved to reveal any details (cf. Andrae, l. c. p. 65). For the explanation of this scene we must turn to the Neo-Assyrian relief of Sennacherib which depicts the transportation of a colossal bull by figures similarly toiling with ropes (cf. Paterson, *Palace of Sennacherib*, pl. 27-28). It seems likely that the base of the plinth also illustrates the transportation of objects. The most obvious conclusion is that these objects are the two standards¹²⁶ depicted above. This plinth of Tukulti-Ninurta I thus shows on the base the toil and difficulty in the transportation of the standards. On the face are the already erected standards with the king (who ordered their erection) standing between them. An extremely simplified rendering of the essential features contained in the scenes of the plinth of Tukulti-Ninurta I, namely a platform supporting standards on the summit of a mountain, is seen on a Nuzi sealing published by Starr (Nuzi vol. II pl. 119 D). There two mountains form the base of a pillar or pole supporting a platform on which rest a small moon and sun-standard.¹²⁷ The contrast between the completely abstract

¹²⁶ The fact that two gangs of men are portrayed on the plinth indicates that two objects were being transported.

¹²⁷ The god grasping the standard on Nuzi vol. II pl. 119 D may be the same deity who is elsewhere represented by his standard alone. The same meaning may be expressed by our sealing No. 902. For representation of a god by his standard, cf. Tallqvist,

manner in which this idea is expressed on the Nuzi design and the realistic representation of the Middle Assyrian period presents an exact parallel to the "gate" depicted on No. 745, which is translated into a city or temple gate on the Middle Assyrian impression, Andrae, l. c. p. 29 Abb. 8.

Returning now to Nuzi sealing No. 746* (the point of departure for this discussion), I take the object here depicted to be an abbreviated rendering of a platform such as is seen on the plinth of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Unger, ABK p. 101 fig. 30); the horizontal bars may indicate the steps leading up to the platform, the two figures supporting the object on No. 746* may fulfill a function like that of the nude bearded heroes who grasp the standards on the plinth. As to the rest of the representation on No. 746*, the small lion-griffin placed under the "platform" may have been regarded as sufficient indication of the Weather-god and his mount, but the larger dragon on the sealing defies explanation.

On No. 747* a sun-standard is flanked by two semi-kneeling mannikins, each with a bird perched above his raised hand. The pillar or pole supporting the disk seems to broaden towards the base, perhaps in an abbreviated rendering of the standard on the mountain depicted on No. 736* and related to the representations discussed at length above. The role of the winged genius on No. 747* cannot be determined because the object which he raises is not discernible.

Another interesting representation is found on No. 748*. Although the sealing is badly preserved, two confronted figures, each in semi-kneeling posture (above an animal?), grasping the ends of a band which hangs down from above, can be distinguished. This band seems to be fastened to a sun-disk which is suspended in the sky between the figures. Should this description of No. 748* prove correct, this scene would furnish a precedent for the representation on the stone tablet of the time of Nabû-apal-iddina (L. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, pl. XCVIII), where we also find a sun-disk (and its base) suspended by a rope held by two genii.

With No. 749 we return to representations of the winged sun-disk. Here it rests on the head of a semi-kneeling(?) genius who clutches with both hands the forelegs of the two rampant bulls at his side. Beside the bull at the left is a seated figure. In the space between bull and seated figure appears the seven globes that symbolize the Pleiades. The figure supporting the sun-disk is probably related to the semi-kneeling mannikin of No. 507, who likewise supports with his head the wings that symbolize heaven. Moreover, the "Atlantid figures" on Frankfort, Text-fig. 90 and WAG 42. 735, are probably also to be associated with our genius of No. 749. As regards the relation of the two sealings, Nos. 507 and 749, it may be noted that on both scenes the bull figures prominently; the possible celestial significance of this animal on these two scenes should therefore not be overlooked. Especially for an attempt to associate the genius of No. 749 with the Greek Atlas such an astral interpretation of the bulls¹²⁸ might prove helpful. Atlas was the father of the Hyades, a V-shaped cluster of stars in the head of the constellation Taurus,¹²⁹ which might easily be represented on Nos.

Der assyrische Gott p. 109; for the worship of standards, cf. Clemen, *Die phönikische Religion nach Philo von Byblos*, Vorderasiat. Ägypt. Ges. Mitt. 42/3 p. 18: 29; p. 22: 12.

¹²⁸ For the possible celestial significance of the bull represented in a related scene on No. 507 see p. 35 and note 51.

¹²⁹ Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Ant. Grecques et Romaines* vol. IV p. 509 s. v. Pleiades, Hyades.

507 and 749 by the bull. Moreover, Atlas was also thought to be the father of the Pleiades, likewise a cluster of stars within Taurus, represented on No. 749 by the seven globes in the manner in which they are rendered on cylinders. Even the semi-kneeling attitude of the supporters of the sky on Nos. 749 and 507 corresponds to a number of the few extant representations of Atlas. The figure at the left seated on a throne deserves some attention, because seated "onlookers" in mythological scenes are extremely rare among Nuzi designs. This figure has a curious relation to the other representation of Atlas, not as titanic supporter of the sky but as a king seated calmly on his throne.¹³⁰ These remarks are not intended to suggest that Atlas was derived from our Mitannian figures, but to point to these curious parallels, which may indicate a common origin for both the Greek and the Mitannian anthropomorphic supporter of the sky.

The next sealing, No. 750, is notable for the contrast which this representation of winged genii with a tree or pole supporting a winged sun-disk presents to that of Nos. 726 and 727. The utter simplification manifested by No. 750 represents the general glyptic tendency at the end of the Nuzi period, the date of this sealing. The lion-headed demon on No. 750 is an interesting figure, as he appears here rather as a menacing demon¹³¹ than in the beneficial functions (such as the support of the winged sun-disk or the protection of the "tree") in which he is usually portrayed on the Nuzi sealings.

No. 751 shows the two winged genii standing at the side of the pole and rendered with remarkable plastic expression. The second half of the sealing portrays a suppliant goddess before a long-robed figure who raises his hand in welcoming gesture.

No. 752 has bull-demons flanking the tree; the imprint has been placed in this group instead of Group XXV, where the sealings exclusively featuring this theme have been assembled, because the engraving as well as the motive of the Weather-god on his dragon (only partly preserved) recall Nos. 743 and 745. The position of the loop-staff on this sealing may be worth noticing. Placed below the rein of the Weather-god, it is in an oblique position, halfway between the invariably vertical position in which it is placed on the cylinder of the First Babylonian Dynasty and foregoing periods and the horizontal one in which it appears on the Neo-Assyrian cylinders.

On No. 753 the figures flanking the "tree" and winged sun-disk above are a god (left) and a worshipper (right). The gesture of the bull-demon behind the worshipper remains unexplained. The antelopes and "tree" resemble those of No. 657; both originals might therefore come from the hand of the same seal-cutter.

No. 754 is too badly preserved to permit a definite statement concerning the scene; nevertheless the suggestion may be voiced that the figure at the left of the standard supporting a winged sun-disk is female. The bird under her raised arm may also be noted, as the frequency with which birds are associated with divine and human figures on the sealings of Nuzi indicates that they were of outstanding mythological significance.

¹³⁰ Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, vol. I p. 526 fig. 611.

¹³¹ In this case his nature would conform to the Mesopotamian conceptions of this figure as expressed on the Sargonid and Babylon I cylinders as well as on Assyrian monuments (cf. Frankfort CS 174 ff. (The Lion-headed Demon).

No. 755 shows only one human or divine figure before the winged sun-standard, which is flanked by a pair of winged ibexes. Of all the monsters portrayed on the Mitannian designs, winged ibexes are among the least frequent; their occurrence here and (one of them only) on Nos. 569 and 598 may nevertheless be noted, as they became favorite figures of the late Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid artists. Cylinders like De Clercq 357, which I believe to be "post-Mitannian," probably kept this type of monster alive in glyptic representations, whereas it is not found on Assyrian cylinders of the 14th-9th centuries B. C.

An interesting representation is offered by No. 756, where at the side of the tree flanked by ibexes are two figures in the attitude of boxing. A small clay relief from Senkereh (Larsa) ¹³² shows the same "boxers" with the only difference that they are there represented standing instead of in the semi-kneeling posture of our sealing. An important addition, however, can be observed on the plaque: at the side of the "boxers" are two musicians! The conclusion that the boxing contest was carried over into and performed as a battle dance to the accompaniment of music seems inevitable (see also note 250).¹³³

No. 757, although representing a different motive, nevertheless shows mannikins that correspond in their outlines even more closely than those of No. 756 to the above-mentioned clay plaque. The two vertical columns of drillings probably correspond to those seen on No. 186; the goddess with wings instead of arms is of Syrian origin (see also No. 196). The figure of a protective genius or deity at the side of the semi-kneeling figures recalls No. 747 and is again found on No. 758. Although the "bouquet-tree" is unusual on the sealings of the present group and in the Elaborate Style imprints in general, the relation of the present design to No. 757 justifies the classification of No. 758 in this group. It may also be noted that the third wing of the genii on No. 758 is an exceptional feature: usually only two wings are depicted.

No. 759 presents one mannikin engraved in the same manner as those of No. 758. The rest of the design probably showed a Weather-god on a lion, but only his mount and the leash attached to the head of the animal are preserved.

Nos. 760 and 761, both engraved in the same manner, show somewhat unusual themes. The former depicts an enthroned figure with an attendant grasping the back of her seat, while a second, similarly rendered figure touches the top of a curiously shaped tree (see also p. 77). No. 761 presents the only occurrence on Nuzi period sealings of a presumably human figure carrying a basket in his (or her) hand. The recipient of the offering appears to be a figure with scimitar. Antelopes flanking the "tree" form the subsidiary motive.

No. 761a is likewise engraved with an exceptional theme, two persons carrying on their shoulders a pole from which a basket is suspended. Also the inscription affixed on the original seal-stone presents an infrequent feature on the imprints of this group, to which No. 761a appears to belong because of the relation of the design of the figures to those of Nos. 760 and 761.

¹³² Cf. Van Buren, ClF fig. 139 (No. 509).

¹³³ The date given by Mrs. Van Buren (ClF p. 103), 2550 B. C., is too high and should probably be lowered to that of our Nuzi sealings. Also the second plaque, discovered by Loftus (Van Buren ClF fig. 196, No. 713), may belong to the Nuzi period, as the bull there depicted corresponds exactly to such designs of bulls as exemplified by the one on the sealing No. 507.

GROUP XXIII (Pls. XXXVIII-XL, Nos. 762-790)

The engraving of the sealings assembled in this and the following group varies so considerably that stylistic criteria had to give way to those of subject-matter alone. The sealings of the present group feature the nude bearded hero (Nos. 762-773, his head only on Nos. 774-776), and the bull-man (Nos. 777-790) in different functions. The impressions cover the three generations of Tehip-tilla, Enna-mati, and Tarmi-tilla.

Nos. 762-765 show the nude bearded hero represented in the same manner as frequently on "provincial Babylonian" cylinders, the two curls at the side of his forehead not being given the shape of ringlets, as on the cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty, but rather that of small horns, as on the "provincial Babylonian" cylinder Morgan 875. The flowing vase, which characterizes him as a propitious figure on the cylinders of the earlier periods, is here omitted, perhaps because his beneficent character was so well known that further indication of it seemed unnecessary.

On No. 766 which is badly preserved he appears to have been inserted later on the original. What is still visible of the design seems to have been engraved in the finest style of the First Babylonian Dynasty.

No. 767 presents two nude bearded heroes flanking a "tree." At their right are two or more dancing figures; the rest of the scene is indiscernible.

On Nos. 768-773 the nude bearded hero is the victim of an attack by two figures, the theme previously encountered on No. 728 but abbreviated and schematized on the sealings of this group.¹³⁴ On Nos. 770 and 772 the attackers wear round caps with narrow brims instead of the horned mitres.

A unique representation, No. 774, has been joined to these sealings featuring the nude bearded hero: two figures, one a god with horned mitre, wearing a bordered mantle and showing the tasseled ends of the belt between his legs, and a second figure, similarly attired but wearing a round headdress, attack a winged bull who has the head of the nude bearded hero. Two heads similar to that of the monster are placed above, perhaps indicting the victims already slain by the hero and god. A third figure, attired like the second, is separated from this group by the ancillary motive, which contains a kneeling figure menaced(?) by an eagle. Separated from the upper register by a horizontal line is the bull placed in the lower register of the ancillary motive. Even the filling motives are somewhat unusual, especially the trifoliate blossom(?) between the heads and the carefully carved, minute vessel. The figure kneeling with hands raised in a gesture of supplication may be noted. This posture is an innovation of this period and portrays the attitude prescribed for certain ecstatic Kassite prayers.¹³⁵

Perhaps the engraver meant to portray the conquest of the Bull of Heaven in this scene. The rendering, however, would differ considerably from the Sargonic representations of this subject (cf. Frankfort, CS pl. XXIIe and p. 127).

¹³⁴ The same theme is depicted on Weber 268a.

¹³⁵ Cf. Oppenheim, *Anthropos* XXXI 1936, p. 475-476.

The head of the nude bearded hero was frequently used in ornamental designs of the Mitannian period (see No. 661 and note 86). Thus we find it on Nos. 775 and 776 placed between two griffins. It may be noted that on No. 775 the hero's hair forms the two bulges which are characteristic of this figure on the Middle Assyrian cylinders (e.g. Morgan 596, Newell 685, 686). The use of the bearded hero's head for decorative purposes continued in the Neo-Assyrian period. We find it not only on a cylinder (Morgan 687) but also as decoration of a chariot of Shalmaneser III.¹³⁶

Bull-men in different functions and renderings are the principal figures on Nos. 777-789. On Nos. 777-780 they are depicted in profile, in contrast to the renderings of the First Babylonian Dynasty, which usually shows these figures full face, as they are also seen on Nos. 782-787.

No. 777 shows a sun-standard that varies from the examples so far encountered by showing not only the disk divided into four parts, each with a drilling in the center, but also a crescent moon below the disk. The repetition of the motive in an ancillary group formed by winged genii flanking a moon standard is likewise unusual. Finally, the realistic rendering of the fighting griffins in the upper register of the ancillary motive is without parallel. Except for the wings of the genii, which do not conform to the design seen on No. 726 and the other imprints associated with this sealing of Tarmiia, the rest of the impression strongly recalls the technique of this engraver in the beautiful modelling of the bodies and the independence manifested in the specific shape given the principal and ancillary themes.

No. 777a presents what may be a degenerate copy of the foregoing design. The bull-men are seen in the same posture as those of No. 777: even the loop-staff at the side of the pole supporting the sun-disk is here repeated. This pole, however, corresponds to the one seen on No. 851, a sealing of Tarmi-tilla's time, as is No. 777a. The griffin-demon on the sealing under discussion appears to be in no relation to the two bull-men and gives the impression of having been placed there in an awkward attempt at filling the space.

Nos. 778 and 779 probably present renderings of the bull-men and sun-standard but are badly preserved; No. 778 shows a worshipper standing at the left.

No. 780 portrays the bull-men with wings, an innovation of the Nuzi period; their horned mitres show one or two protrusions at the top, but these are not sufficiently well preserved to show whether or not they correspond to the "triple crest" observed on the impression of Sauššattar and other renderings of Mitannian noblemen.¹³⁷ The sun-standard depicted on No. 780 has an especially small disk; the staff is decorated with graceful volutes which give the impression of being formed of ribbons and streamers. The small filling motives in the field, especially the bird, surpass Kassite filling motives in elegance and fineness of the design. Their occurrence on this imprint on a tablet of the time of Enna-mati agrees well with the evidence of the Kassite style sealings Nos. 703-707 which present the most prolific and best executed filling motives and derive from the time after Tehip-tilla.

¹³⁶ Cf. L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, London, 1915 pl. XIX, lower register, far right.

¹³⁷ Cf. Frankfort CS p. 266 and 267 for the helmet with triple crest as the head-gear of the Mitannian nobleman.

The impression Louvre A 689 has to be drawn upon for the discussion of No. 781, which preserves only a fragment of the sealing. A bull-man in side-view grasps a sun-standard, at the right of which is a double-headed lion-demon. At the left of the bull-man is a worshipper facing the inscription. As far as I can judge from the badly reproduced impression, the style seems again to be that of No. 726, the sealing of Tarmija. As usual, the most distinctive indications for the relation of this sealing to No. 726 are the mitre, here worn by the bull-man,¹³⁸ and the design of the wings, here those of the lion-demon. Once again the subject of the cylinder varies completely from the other works deriving from this artist. The figure chiefly deserving our attention on this sealing is the double-headed lion-demon. This appears to be the earliest occurrence of that figure among the Nuzi cylinders, since the engraver of Tarmija's cylinder was active in the time of Tehip-tilla, whereas all the other portrayals of the double-headed lion-demon are later. While the figure itself may not be exclusively a Mitannian creation, its introduction in the repertoire of the cylinders nevertheless appears to be due to the initiative of this specific seal-cutter. It can easily be assumed that his first-class products invited imitation by the other seal-cutters, and that the types which he revived, transformed, or created, quickly became popular.

Returning now to the principal figures of the present group, the bull-men, we find them on No. 782 holding a sun-standard, the disk of which has been transformed into a rosette. No. 783 deviates from the other imprints so far discussed in the present group by showing a winged sun above a slender but still recognizable lion-club standard. This standard, which as a rule does not occur on the late Nuzi sealings, and the similarity of the sun-disk to that of the Tehip-tilla sealing No. 92, make it conceivable that the imprint was reused at the time of Tarmi-tilla, on one of whose tablets it was impressed.

An entirely different style of rendering the bull-men is found on Nos. 784-788. Here the faces are not modelled, but are indicated by lines, leaving cavities for the eyes and mouth. On Nos. 784 and 785 the horns and mitres are scarcely indicated; on Nos. 786 and 787 they are marked by a large and small drilling, corresponding perhaps to those on the Mitannian cylinder Ward 954. Turning now to the individual impressions of this small group, we find on No. 784 the bull-men grasping a tree and placed under a very curious design: a horizontal column formed by drillings from which emerge at the left the foreparts of a lion, and at the right those of a bull; below the column is a narrow, lentil-shaped design. The foreparts of the lion paw at an antelope, while the bull is attacked by a winged lion-headed demon. Aside from the suggestion that an accumulation of drillings often is meant to indicate stars, I have no explanation to offer for this design. Two suppliants and an ibex placed in the field on No. 784 do not appear to be connected with the part of the seal-design just described.

No. 785 deviates from No. 784 only by the addition of a worshipper who stands behind the lion-demon. Whether or not the curious column was here represented remains unknown, because the upper part of the sealing is not preserved.

On No. 786 the bull-men are depicted in the unusual gesture of grasping by head and tail the rampant antelopes which flank the "tree." It is, of course, possible that

¹³⁸ The head of the bull-man on the sealing under discussion seems to present a profile view of the bull-man with "tree" from Susa (EPHA I p. 60). This may be further indication of relations between Nuzi and Susa; see also p. 45.

this gesture, which at first glance seems unfriendly, should be interpreted as protective, in accordance with the generally beneficial character of the bull-man.

There may be some question as to whether the two semi-kneeling figures flanking the "tree" on No. 787 are bull-men or nude bearded heroes. Their headgears correspond to those of the bull-men on No. 786, and for this reason they have been included here, although the lower part of their bodies is not sufficiently discernible to indicate whether or not they had tails and hoofs.

For No. 788, an almost identical sealing on a Kirkuk tablet, Weber 267 (VAT 6040), must be brought into the discussion, because the impression No. 788 is preserved only in small fragments. It may furthermore be noted that Speleers includes another impression of Weber 267, namely Brussels No. 237, as coming from Sippar.¹³⁹ Engraved in the same manner as Nos. 784 and 785 (compare specifically the standing ibex and the shape of the "tree"), the scene here depicted is that of No. 728, with the sole difference that here the victim has bull's ears. It is possible that these bull's ears are a detail in the rendering of Humbaba of which the engraver of the present cylinder was aware, whereas the creators of all other Nuzi renderings of this theme did not accentuate the ears of the victim.

No. 789, which again presents the bull-man with fully modelled face and body, shows him with a bird perched on each of his raised hands. Separated from the bull-man by a "tree" is a worshipper or god. The same representation of the bull-man at the side of a double-headed ibex-demon with sun-standard is found in cruder rendering on No. 790. The fact that two such different impressions picture the same motive probably indicates that it is the expression of a specific mythological idea. The only suggestion to be ventured in this connection is the passage concerning the death of Enkidu in the Gilgameš Epic to which Frankfort refers in his interpretation of the griffin and griffin-demon: "Enkidu, the friend of Gilgameš, had an ominous dream before he died, in which a dark-faced figure, with a face like that of a great bird and claws like that of an eagle, changed Enkidu's appearance so that his arms became feathered, after which he guided him 'Unto the dwelling from which he who entereth cometh forth never'" (cf. Frankfort BSA XXXVII p. 122). The old contention that the bull-man is Enkidu, the friend of Gilgameš has been admitted as a possibility by Frankfort, CS p. 66. Should this theory prove to be correct, the representation of the birds on the hands of "Enkidu" might present a variation of the description of the epic which transforms his arms and hands into wings.

GROUP XXIV (Pls. XL-XLI, Nos. 791-835a)

In this group have been collected all those sealings, which feature animal-headed demons in the principal motives. Nos. 791-814 contain representations of the griffin-demon; Nos. 815-827, bull-demons; and Nos. 828-835a, lion-demons. The most frequent function of these demons is the support or

¹³⁹ The next tablet reproduced in Speleers' catalogue is listed as coming from a tell near Kirkuk, and it is therefore conceivable that the location given for Brussels 237 is erroneous and the tablet really came from Kirkuk.

protection (perhaps both) of the sun on a standard. Most of the sealings come from the end of the Nuzi period.

Nos. 791-813 present the griffin-demon as the distinctive figure of their designs. The most frequent representations show this demon with a crest of three feathers and a curl hanging down to the nape of his neck; his body is human, but he has the claws of a bird. He has a pair of wings, which on No. 807 replace his arms in the manner frequently seen on Syrian cylinders.¹⁴⁰ All other designs, however, show him with both arms and wings. Less frequent are those representations where the crest is replaced by one large feather receding from the source of the griffin's beak. On a few sealings, especially those where a double-headed griffin-demon is represented, the heads are plainly those of birds, with neither crest nor large receding feather.

The functions of the griffin-demon on the present group of impressions vary considerably and must therefore be discussed individually. No. 791, from the early or middle period of Tehip-tilla, varies in its linear engraving from the other sealings of this group. The griffin-demon is here represented, as on No. 93, holding a vase.¹⁴¹ A further relation to No. 93 is formed by the appearance of the demon, whose head and wing seem to be made in one piece, giving the impression of a mask drawn over the head and upper body of a human person. We get the same impression from the griffin-demon of No. 792 (who seems to wear a short skirt), and from those of No. 651* and 802. From textual evidence we know that such masks existed in Assyrian times and were worn in certain ceremonies by priests (see p. 121). As the figure of the griffin-demon, although originally a Syrian creation,¹⁴² reached the Assyrians via the Mitannians, it seems likely that the ritual impersonation of this demon which was practised in Assyrian times was likewise the heritage of the foregoing period.

No. 791, to which we now return, presents another interesting feature in the gesture of the god. He seems to extend his hand to touch the stream or catch the drops. If the latter be true (a fact which can be ascertained only by a duplicate impression) we

¹⁴⁰ E. g. Brett 25, Louvre A 932, Morgan 932.

¹⁴¹ This representation brings to mind a curious passage in Lucian, *The Syrian Goddess* (ed. Garstang, London, 1913) p. 82: "... Each member of the assembly carries a vessel . . . those who carry the water do not unseal the vessels and then pour out the water; but there is a certain holy cock who dwells hard by the lake. This bird, on receiving the vessels from the bearers, inspects the seal, and after receiving a reward for this action he breaks the thread and pecks away the wax, and many minae are collected by the cock for this operation. After this the bearers carry the water into the temple and pour it forth, and they depart when the sacrifice is finished."

It does not seem impossible that an ancient libation rite, in which a priest with bird's mask played a predominant role, is here recorded. The fact that this bird is described as a cock would not be an argument against such an assumption, as the griffin's crest could easily have been "merged" with the cock's comb once this bird had entered the category of mythological fauna of Western Asia (for the appearance of the cock in these regions, cf. s. v. Huhn, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* vol. V p. 401).

¹⁴² For an extensive discussion of the origin of the griffin and griffin-demon, cf. Frankfort, Notes on the Cretan Griffin, *British School at Athens*, XXXVII 1936-7, 119 ff.

have here a precedent for the Assyrian gesture of figures extending the hand under the streams that fall from the winged sun (e.g. Morgan 650).

No. 792 has already been mentioned for the mask-like impression given by the griffin-demon on this sealing. His posture and the lion's resemble a "graceful stepping," such as might be expected in a dance, far more than an embittered contest (see p. 121). The other two figures on the scene also deserve mention because of the curious object held by the recipient of a sacrificial kind. It is a long rod, bent forward and recalling the crook of the Babylonian god Amurru. Between these two figures is an offering table of the type seen on No. 634. The engraving of the present sealing, however, shows far more movement, especially in the figures of griffin and lion, than the static designs of Group XVII—which is why No. 792 was not classed among the sealings made under strong Babylonian influence.

On No. 793 the griffin-demon is represented with both hands raised, holding in one hand a globe and in the other an indiscernible object, perhaps a whip. The wings of the griffin as well as the head-gear of the god correspond to those on No. 726, the sealing of Tarmia; we are therefore justified in ascribing the seal under discussion to this engraver. The clear disposition of the figures and the correspondence of the worshipper to No. 781 (Louvre A 689) further support this statement.

Figures raising a globe are also found elsewhere. No. 895 and two Assyrian cylinders of the 9th-8th centuries B. C. (Morgan 688 and 690) show a figure holding a globe in his raised palm. On Morgan 690 this figure is depicted in semi-kneeling posture under the winged sun-disk. The significance of the gesture is obscure.

On No. 794 the griffin-demon is seen with the same objects as on No. 793, but here too only the globe can be clearly recognized, the object in his other hand being partly obliterated.

No. 795 presents the griffin-demon with both hands raised but empty. Moortgat explains this gesture as an abbreviation of the representation on the Syrian cylinder Morgan 941, where the griffin-demon supports the winged sun-disk (BK pp. 40). Not even on that cylinder (the only such representation of a griffin-demon), however, do the wings actually rest on his palms in the same manner as on Weber Nos. 316a and 254, where lion-griffins and nude bearded heroes respectively support the symbol. In addition to Moortgat's theory, two other explanations of the griffin-demon's gesture must therefore be considered. One is that the gesture is merely an abbreviation of the inexplicable one of Nos. 793 and 794; the other is that it is the gesture of prayer, "a raising of the hands towards the sun" which Philo of Byblos mentions in his description of Phoenician religion.¹⁴³ The designs of the ancillary motive which the griffin-demon faces on No. 795 include a recumbent bull before a sun-disk and, in the upper register, a scorpion, rosette, and crescent moon. The rosette undoubtedly replaces here the sun-disk (see the sun-standard with rosette instead of disk on No. 782), and the scorpion may stand for the goddess Ištar, otherwise represented by a star. It may be noted that a scorpion is again represented in very prominent position on No. 798, where a bull is depicted on the other side of the griffin-demon. This repeated representation of scorpion and bull almost gives the impression that the combination of these two animals was intentional. It may be recalled that the zodiacal sign of Scorpio is in juxtaposition to Taurus, furthermore that on the Zodiac from Dendera (Jeremias,

¹⁴³ Cf. Clemen, *Die phönikische Religion*. p. 21: 8.

Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929. fig. 126) the bull is placed in the segment below the scorpion as the regent of the hour. Astral significance should therefore not be excluded.

No. 796 shows (in the only preserved part of the sealing, the ancillary motive) a semi-kneeling griffin-demon holding the mysterious globe, as on Nos. 793 and 794; on No. 797 he may be depicted with the same gesture as on 795, and on No. 798* he raises only one hand in worship or benediction.

On No. 799 the preserved head and shoulders of a human figure lying prostrate behind the griffin-demon tantalizingly suggest relation with Louvre A 831, where bird-headed priests(?) take part in rites concerning a prostrate, presumably sick person. Our sealing, however, is too fragmentary to permit further comment.

No. 800 merely shows the griffin-demon in a semi-kneeling posture at the side of a sun-standard which is flanked by two rampant bulls. On No. 801 he is depicted as a hunting demon¹⁴⁴ holding an animal by the hindleg, while two small rampant griffins flank the winged sun-disk on the standard.

No. 802 has already been mentioned for the mask-like appearance of the griffin-demons' heads and wings. They are here seen flanking the sun-standard and grasping the pole and disk.

On No. 803 the shape of the demons' wings corresponds to that of No. 793, which has been ascribed to the artist of Tarmija's cylinder, No. 726. The design, however, shows greater use of the drill and thinner, simplified lines for the volutes of the sun-standard. It seems possible, therefore, that the seal-cutter of No. 803 copied the style of the earlier artist, introducing a slight but nevertheless perceptible schematization.

On No. 804 the griffin-demons, if indeed they are such (this cannot be entirely established from this impression), are depicted wingless. The curious dragon at their side, who appears to be crowned with a horned and spiked head-dress, defies explanation.

No. 805 has been mentioned before for the bird- instead of griffin-heads of the demons; No. 806 is too badly preserved to permit discussion.

The special Syrian affinities of the griffin-demon of No. 807, manifested by the replacement of his arms by wings, have already been mentioned. This seal very closely resembles Morgan 984, which is probably marked as a Hittite product by the occurrence of the stag-demon. An unusual feature, however, is introduced by the lion's tail of the demon, which recalls the representation on a cylinder-seal found in Palestine in the layers of the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty.¹⁴⁵ Details of design and also the general style of engraving of No. 807¹⁴⁶ make its origin outside of Nuzi, in the western-most regions of the Mitannian empire, very likely.

No. 808 shows a griffin-demon grasping a mace-standard, which is also held by a hero standing on the other side of the pole.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ For comment on this function of the griffin-demon, cf. Moortgat, BK 41 ff. and Abb. 10.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, Le Caire, 1936, S. 60.

¹⁴⁶ The drill, here used to a greater extent than on the cylinders of undefiled Syrian style, indicates the origin of No. 807 within the Mitannian sphere.

¹⁴⁷ Related representations are Nos. 92 and 673 where the griffin-demon's partner is a bull-man. These representations should perhaps be regarded as depicting the griffin-

No. 809 has been placed beside No. 808 because the designs, including the ancillary motive, are almost identical except for the fact that the griffin here replaces the griffin-demon. This is unquestionably a variation introduced by the engraver of Nos. 808 and 809 to distinguish his two products. This is another example of the "artistic licence" which the seal-cutters took with iconographical details (see also p. 65).

Nos. 810 and 811 show a demon with two birds' heads supporting a sun-disk. On No. 810 the disk is winged and placed on a short pole which rests on the neck of the demon between the two heads. The demon grasps both ends of a stick which he holds behind his back. On each side of the demon stands a bull-man wearing a headdress which is topped by a globular protrusion and presents a schematic rendering of the head-dress depicted on No. 726.

On No. 811 two such demons are depicted. The sun-disk is placed between the heads of the one, whereas a "bouquet" appears between those of the second demon. With one hand, each demon raises an animal by the hind-legs; with the other, the demon at the left grasps the antler of a stag, the one at the right an indefinable animal. This curious and unique representation appears to be an individual and mainly decorative variation on the theme of bird-demon, sun-disk, and "tree" rather than the expression of a specific mythological idea.

Another such "decorative" design may be presented by No. 812, where the double-headed bird-demon is depicted without the sun-disk. The symmetrical figure of this demon and the antithetical pair of winged antelopes present a pleasing, rhythmical pattern, which in this case may have been the seal-cutter's chief aim.

One of the most important sealings found on the Nuzi tablets is No. 813*. The duplication of the griffin's head here also includes wing and arm: emerging from this monstrous shape is the head and upper body of a bull-eared god who grasps the crests of the the two griffin's heads. The lower part of the griffin-monster, including the tail, is shaped like that of a lion-dragon. At the right is a griffin-demon, again with the lower body of a lion, attacking(?) a deity in a flounced robe. The deity stands before a tall slender altar on which a flame is burning. At the side of the altar is a winged sun-disk resting on the volutes of a "tree" rendered in completely abstract manner. To prove that this bundle (the lower part of which is formed by a reversed bouquet, the upper part by two volutes with a bud or blossom of the bouquet between them), was really meant to represent the "tree" we have to refer to No. 760. There, we have, although in far cruder design, the bouquet-like lower part of the tree and the volutes above. The altar, on the other hand, is paralleled on No. 712. There the lozenge-forming lines above the surface of the altar leave no doubt of their significance as flames; the less clear design above the altar on No. 813* may therefore be interpreted in the same manner. The winged sun-disk above a tree and the altar with flames are found again on Neo-Assyrian designs. The bucket-shaped vessel from Assur (W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur* pl. 29), for example, shows this same combination, rendered of course in the manner typical of the period. The tree is a

demon guarding the "tree" (or its predecessors, the lion-club and mace standards). These scenes may furthermore present the antecedents for the Assyrian representations that show the griffin-demons at the side of the tree. While these representations show them in the act of fertilizing the date-palm (or at least with the basket and cone which are typical of this act), the guarding of the tree may be implicit.

palmette-blossom, the winged sun is tailed, and the altar shows only one instead of two wreaths. Nevertheless, the correspondence is sufficiently close to indicate that these ritual objects wherever encountered in Assyrian representations, are a Mitannian heritage.

The close relation with Assyrian designs displayed by the subject matter of the sealing is also manifested in the style, which in size, modelling, and the upward sweeping wings shows more affinities with the Middle Assyrian style than any other of our Nuzi sealings. This agrees with the relative date of this sealing at the end of the Nuzi period.

As to the significance of the figures, attention can be drawn to the combination of the griffins, which Frankfort regards as equivalent to angels of death (cf. BSA XXXVII p. 121), and the bull-eared god, who is frequently depicted in a sarcophagus (e.g. Newell 213, Morgan 386) and was without question a chthonic deity, probably some manifestation of Nergal.¹⁴⁸ The reason why such figures were represented on cylinders has been explained by Frankfort (CS p. 176). Like the representations which he has discussed, the accompanying designs of No. 813, the deity, the griffin-demon, and the two ritual objects or emblems, "may have been considered sufficiently apotropaic" to offset the influence of the figures that symbolized death.

No. 814 shows an inverted, double-headed griffin with a human figure (hero or god) grasping one of its wings and brandishing a club, presumably to destroy the monster. A scorpion and five drillings are placed in the field. The kilt indicated by two ribbons hanging down from the waist is somewhat reminiscent of cylinders found at Ras Shamra in Syria.¹⁴⁹

No. 815 shows a semi-kneeling griffin-demon (partly broken off), at the side of a double-headed bull-demon. The lower body of the creature is formed by a cone composed of drillings; whether these symbolize a mountain or should be interpreted as the tail of a bird remains undecided as long as related representations are not available.

Nos. 816-827 feature the bull-demon, a winged creature with the head and lower body of a bull and the thorax of a man. The origin of this demon presents a problem. The earliest representations of a bull-demon are found on the proto-Elamite tablets (e.g. Louvre S 307-309). No trace of this figure is found on Mesopotamian representations of the third millennium; the earliest occurrence in Western Asia after the proto-Elamite designs is on cylinders of the First Syrian group, like Morgan 910. In the later second millennium, the figure is found throughout the eastern Mediterranean, where it was preserved long after it had been abandoned by Western Asiatic art. Its disappearance from the Assyrian designs in the Middle Assyrian period may be due to the similarity between bull-man and bull-demon. The two figures are differentiated only by the fact that the bull-man has a human face and curls. On the Mitannian designs their functions in connection with the "tree," standard, or winged sun-disk appear to be the same; on the Assyrian designs only bull-men are found in corresponding representations (e.g. Morgan 771, 772). It seems, therefore, that the bull-man, one of the most ancient and most deeply rooted figures of the Mesopotamian repertoire, assimilated the bull-demon after the Mitannian period. This clearly indicates that the bull-demon was of non-Mesopotamian origin. Whether we have to look to Elam for

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 168 and references cited there.

¹⁴⁹ E.g. *Syria* XII, 1931 pl. III fourth and last seal from the top.

its origin, or elsewhere in the regions outside of Mesopotamia, is a problem still awaiting solution.

Representation of only one bull-demon, as on Nos. 816 to 818, is infrequent in comparison with that of two flanking the sun-standard, as on Nos. 819-823.

On No. 816 the ancillary motive formed by a boar-like animal over a prostrate human figure(?) is too badly preserved to allow for further comments. No. 817 shows a tall bull-demon in indeterminable function at the side of a tree flanked by griffins. This corresponds closely to No. 801; it therefore seems possible that both cylinders were cut by the same engraver.

No. 818 presents the demon at the side of a "tree" which is related to that of No. 760 as well as to the "bundle" of No. 813. There is some doubt as to whether the demon here depicted is really a bull-demon, because he seems to be portrayed with a short skirt or kilt and with human legs. While such representations are frequent on Syrian cylinders (e.g. Ward, SC No. 869), no other instance is known at present from Mitannian designs. Should the discovery of a duplicate impression definitely show that a different type of demon is here portrayed, the representations of the bull-demons would be restricted to scenes with a sun-standard (and lion-club) whereas there would be no example showing this figure at the side of a "tree."

No. 822 shows a short-kilted hero at the side of the bull-demons. The sealing is too badly preserved to show whether he is about to attack the demons or is represented in some other function.

No. 823 shows, in addition to bull-demons and sun-standard, a nude female raising an indefinable object.

On No. 824 the wings of the demons are given special prominence, foreshadowing the decorative effects obtained with the monsters' wings on such Middle Assyrian designs as Weber 316a.^{149a}

No. 825, which is a fragment, appears to be the only representative among the Nuzi designs of demons carrying the winged sun-disk on their raised palms. This motive is also found on the relief of Yazilikaya.¹⁵⁰

On No. 826 the bull-demons flank a seated deity, on No. 827 a standing figure.

No. 828 presents a bull-demon facing a double-headed lion-demon, while a griffin-demon grasps the staff of the sun-standard. It seems possible that there is some relation between the bull and the lion-demon, because we find them again confronted on No. 829, although the lower body of the bull-demon there is that of a fish.

A double-headed lion-demon alone, supporting the sun-disk, is portrayed on No. 830; the rest of the seal-design appears to have been obliterated. The representations of the double-headed lion-demon here and on Nos. 828 and 781 (fully preserved on Louvre A 689) corresponds closely to an ivory from Megiddo (OIP 52 pl. 11:f), with the sole difference that on the latter the demons raise their hands to support the winged disks.

Nos. 831-833, all fragments, show the lion-headed demons in the same function as griffin or bull-headed demons, namely, flanking the sun-standard. On No. 834 only the head of the demon is preserved, but the curious long snout and plastic expression of the face strongly suggest a demonic mask.

^{149a} Re-examination of this seal impression, No. 824, has revealed that the demons are griffin- and not bull-headed.

¹⁵⁰ K. Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya*, pl. IX: 28-29.

On No. 835 a nude female, standing either on a dais or on the back of an animal, is placed at the side of the semi-kneeling lion-demons flanking the sun-standard.

No. 835a appears to show a lion-demon with a number of animals placed in the field. No comment on this representation is possible because of the fragmentary state of the scene.

GROUP XXV (Pls. XLII-XLIII, Nos. 836-893)

This is the most extensive group among the sealings of the Elaborate Style. It contains small imprints showing monsters or animals flanking the sun-standard or "tree" and placed in the field at random. Cylinders of this type are found in various collections, and have been discovered in excavations outside of Nuzi. Most of the imprints are from the end of the Nuzi period.

The designs of the Elaborate Style that feature two monsters (or animals) at the side of a sun-standard, Nos. 836-849, 851-855, 858-863, and 866-880, are more frequent on the late Nuzi tablets than the sealings of the Common Style. Two of the imprints of this type show a "tree" instead of the standard below the winged sun-disk, Nos. 856 and 857. It may be noted that on these two representations the sun-disk is winged, which is not always the case when the disk rests on a standard. Nos. 850, 864, 865, and 881-885 omit the sun-disk in favor of the "tree"; Nos. 886-893 show the sun-disk with or without wings placed in the field. The seven globes indicating the Pleiades often appear in the field.

Among the monsters, the lion-dragon (Nos. 836-854) and griffin (Nos. 855-865, 869, 889) are more often represented than winged bulls (Nos. 866-868) or other horned and winged animals (Nos. 869, 872, 890).

The type of engraving and the shape of the sun-standards shows very great variety; it seems unlikely therefore, except for small groups of three or four, that the originals of these imprints are from the same hand. Moreover, the fact that a number of seals of this type are contained in various collections¹⁵¹ and have been discovered in excavations outside of Mesopotamia indicates that the sealings of the present group are representatives of a style which took the place of the Common Style in the later phase of the Mitannian glyptic rather than products of a workshop located at Nuzi.

A few of the designs deserve special treatment. No. 837 shows the winged sun-disk above a twist, while the pole is reserved for the crescent moon. This combination of the two symbols recalls the models of standards on a platform seen on No. 907. On No. 849 the sun-disk is placed on a pole which rests on a three-fold "bouquet," two parts of which, one above the other, form the "tree." No. 852 presents the lion-dragons at the side of a column formed by a twist; the upper part of the sealing is broken off, and it is therefore impossible to say whether or not the twist was crowned by a symbol. The winged sun-disk is here removed to the sky between the wings of the dragons. It "rests" on a design formed by radiating lines, each ending in a drilling. Despite the fact that the object thus corresponds to the lower part of the "tree" supporting the winged disk on No. 813, the effect on No. 852 is that of a tail. Moreover, the tail of the winged sun-disk is formed in exactly the same manner on the 9th-8th

¹⁵¹ E. g. BN 471, 472, Philadelphia 597, 601, Moore 174.

century Assyrian cylinders of drilled style of the type of Morgan 694, 696, 697 etc. It seems possible, therefore, that No. 852 presents the prototype of the Assyrian winged and tailed sun-disk.¹⁶² It may be added that the dragons on this sealing, with their fuller contours and carefully modelled bodies, recall such Middle Assyrian representations of the monster as WAG 42.730. No. 852 may therefore be classed with No. 813* as showing the closest affinities with Middle Assyrian glyptic.

No. 855 presents the standard in the same manner as No. 736, with the sole difference that here the sun-disk is winged, thus furnishing another example of a standard on the summit of a mountain (see p. 67).

On No. 856 the usual manner of indicating the Pleiades by seven globes has been abandoned in favor of their portrayal by the loops of a twist. This may, however, present merely a whim of the creator of this special design, as no parallels for this representation are to be found.

No. 861 shows not only the sun-standard flanked by griffins but also a "tree" with rampant antelopes. This design (unless we explain it as intended merely to fill the available space) may indicate that, in spite of the floral aspect often given the pole that supports the sun-disk, "tree" and standard were two well differentiated symbolical designs.

No. 864 presents the griffins standing instead of sitting on their haunches, which is their usual posture on the sealings of this group. On No. 865 the "tree" is shaped in such a curious manner as to suggest that the engraver of that seal embarked on a design of his own invention which was not represented elsewhere.

No. 870 shows, between the antelopes that flank the tree, a unique monster, a creature with the body, legs, and tail of a bird and the head of a bull, and with raised human arms. No. 878 shows a griffin at the right of the sun-standard, and at the left a rampant indefinable animal. A kneeling stag is placed between these creatures.

No. 883 presents an awkwardly drawn "tree," not flanked, as usual, by a pair of antithetical animals, but showing an antelope and a bird, both facing in the same direction.

No. 884 shows two antelopes on either side of a tree placed on a knoll, and fore-shadows such Middle Assyrian representations as Morgan 600 or Moortgat AG abb. 47, 49, etc.

On No. 885, where antelopes again flank the tree, two birds perched on its volutes are noteworthy features.

The scenes of this group so far discussed, showing a sun-standard or "tree" as the center of the representation, are obviously composed according to definite ideas held by the engravers concerning these symbols. Nos. 888-893, however, where monsters and animals as well as the disk are placed at random in the field, can scarcely be regarded as presenting anything but propitious figures filling the seal-designs.

¹⁶² Perring, AfO VIII p. 285, denies that the sun-disk with a tail was represented on Assyrian cylinders before the 9th century B. C. The Assyrian material of the preceding centuries, however, is still too restricted to permit such a conclusion *ex silentio*. In the same manner as the numerous motives and designs (such as the contest of the gods with the bull-headed snake on No. 738 and the ritual meal on No. 497) remain unrepresented in Middle Assyrian glyptic, the winged sun-disk may have been preserved from the Mitannian to the Neo-Assyrian age by means of glyptic groups which remain unknown to us at present.

GROUP XXVI (Pls. XLIV-XLVI, Nos. 894-952)

The sealings which form the present group could not be fitted into any of the foregoing groups. They vary in style and theme and must therefore be discussed individually. Nos. 894-931 belong to the Elaborate, the rest to the Common Style.

Nos. 894-896 present three very different representations of worship of a seated personage, probably a deity. No. 894, which is carefully modelled, shows the god supporting with his head a winged sun-disk and holding in his hand a crescent-shaped object, perhaps the symbol of the moon. Before him stands a worshipper, followed by a griffin-demon, who seems to stand on the back of a couchant animal. A semi-kneeling figure (above a lion), who grasps a bird, completes this unusual scene.

On No. 895 a seated god holding a cup faces a bull-man(?), who holds a globe in his raised palm; lion, bird, and antelope form an ancillary motive. This is the only instance on the Nuzi sealing of Mitannian style where a seated deity holds a cup, a motive so frequent on Cappadocian and Syrian designs, where it was unquestionably derived from the representations of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

An entirely different manner of engraving is seen on No. 896. The figures are given only in bare outline, the heads indicated by drillings. The most salient feature on this imprint is the fish-bodies; the long-robed figure standing before the deity has only one foot, the other being merged with the body of a fish. The same is true of the second worshipper. A fish appears also over the seven globes behind the throne of the deity. These fish-men are probably bungled versions of the figure found on late Babylon I as well as Kassite cylinders.¹⁵³

Worship of a deity rendered in extremely awkward manner is seen on No. 897, a sealing on a tablet written outside of Nuzi.

No. 898 presents a nude female, undoubtedly a goddess, between two worshippers. She stands in an enclosure on a bull. This theme was represented on both Syro-Cappadocian and Syrian cylinders;¹⁵⁴ either source may therefore be responsible for this representation, which so far has no parallel among the Nuzi impressions.

No. 898a likewise shows the nude goddess on a bull, but here the enclosure is omitted. The style of the sealing recalls that of the cylinder BN 435, but the gesture of the goddess, who is represented with clasped hands instead of holding the veil and garland as on the Syrian representations, corresponds to the Cappadocian impression Lewy TC III 12.

No. 899* shows the goddess with open veil, raising her hands above the heads of two griffins which are depicted at her side.

¹⁵³ For a late Babylon I example, cf. Morgan 433; for Kassite examples, cf. Philadelphia 539 and Morgan 586; for a general survey of the occurrences of fish-tailed creatures, cf. Shepard, *The Fish-tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art*, especially pp. 4-9.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. BN 457, Ward SC 939a, Morgan 944, W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient*, Berlin, 1930, pl. III e, f.

On No. 900* she is seen with clasped hands between two sphinxes(?). Only the foreparts of one are preserved, but this is sufficient to show that a horn or feather rose from the top of the monster's headgear and dropped backwards in a wide curve.¹⁵⁵

No. 901 presents a female(?) demon with a monster, composed of the merged foreparts of a hare and antelope, at her side. The cylinder was engraved in such a manner as to produce by continuous unrolling the illusion of seeing the demon grasp with her hands the horns of *two* monsters.

No. 902 shows a god in ascending posture holding a miniature sun-standard. The wings of the sun are here placed below the disk in the middle of the staff. Surrounding the staff are a number of globes, and below it two objects which look like pillows seen in side-view. These could easily represent stones or steps of a raised platform, and the design might then depict the god represented elsewhere (e.g. Nos. 746, 907-909) by his standard only.¹⁵⁶

No. 903 again portrays a god holding his emblem. Here he grasps a star, perhaps in an abbreviated rendering of the god holding the star emblem on No. 648. The cylinder was made exclusively with the cutting wheel, which gives the design a very cursive appearance.

Nos. 904-906 are engraved in a somewhat similar manner. While the design on the first of these imprints is not clearly discernible, No. 905 shows two fish and a bird, and No. 906 a horned animal turned at right angles to the winged(?) sun-disk placed in the lower part of the field.

Nos. 907-909 have already been mentioned in connection with the abbreviated platform with standards represented on them (see p. 66). It seems unlikely that the antelopes and tree of No. 907, the griffins of No. 908, and the confronted sphinxes of No. 909 have any special significance in this connection. The style of these three sealings corresponds in the main to that of Group XXV.

Nos. 910-913 present chariot-scenes, but each is engraved in a distinct manner. A fifth representation of a chariot is found on No. 527 of Group XII. While Nos. 911-913 show crude engraving, No. 910, although not too well preserved in the impression, must have been an exquisitely cut cylinder. On this representation, as well as on No. 527, all that is indicated of the body of the chariot is the floor and a line curving up in front of the charioteer to about the height of his knees, indicating the guard. The only representations which show the charioteer similarly standing on the floor of the chariot, with the guard (rendered in front view) protecting only his front whereas the sides of the chariot remain open, are BN 480, the almost identical cylinder Ward, SC 981 and Ashmolean 168.¹⁵⁷ All other representations of chariots on Syrian, Kassite,

¹⁵⁵ Perhaps this headgear is the same as that represented on Louvre A 861, which shows riders in battle. Furthermore, a similar headgear is frequently depicted on Syro-Cappadocian imprints, e.g. Lewy TC III: 2,12. The same headgear is again found on Egyptian representations of Syrian princes (cf. the chariot of Tuthmosis IV, Wreszinski *Atlas* II pls. 1 and 2).

¹⁵⁶ As suggested in note 127, No. 902 may be regarded as a somewhat debased rendering of the theme depicted on *Nuzi* II pl. 119: D.

¹⁵⁷ Morgan 971, where the sides are open, shows a different type of chariot; see below, the discussion of No. 913.

Assyrian, Syro-Aramean, and Hittite monuments¹⁵⁸ show a more or less solid chariot-basket reaching up to about the waist of the charioteer.

The extremely "light" chariot which is represented on our Nuzi sealings can also be found on Egyptian representations. One of these (Wreszinski, *Atlas* I pl. 269) depicts it as the tribute of the king of Naharyin (presumably Mitanni).¹⁵⁹ It was a two-wheeled chariot of the same type as the one in the Museum at Florence.¹⁶⁰ The semi-circular floor of that chariot is formed by a network of leather straps set in a solid but light wooden frame. The guard consists of a curved piece of wood, the ends of which are joined to the frame of the floor. In front, the guard is held by a strong support. The pole consists of one piece; it rests on the axle, continues under the body of the chariot, is bent twice, and then points obliquely upward. A yoke for harnessing two horses is attached to the end of the pole by means of a peg. The curved barrier which forms the guard on the chariot just described (as well as on those represented on our Nos. 910 and 527) could easily be covered by some textile or other material. Representation of such a guard would hide the feet of the charioteer. This is the case on No. 911, where the outline of the chariot is the same as before, but the charioteer's feet are invisible.

On No. 910 an animal is depicted under the feet of the galloping horses, indicating the hunted game; on No. 527* the lifeless figure falling through space behind the charioteer unquestionably represents his victim in battle.¹⁶¹ These two representations indicate that this type of chariot was used by the Mitannians for hunting as well as battle. A third use, racing, is known to us only from the texts (see note 41); none of our sealings can be interpreted as representing a race.

It is interesting to note that the Greek chariots were of the same light type,¹⁶² whereas the chariots of Western Asia from the Middle Assyrian period onwards were heavier vehicles.¹⁶³ The relative frequency of chariot-scenes on the Nuzi sealings, as well as their distinctive type, proves that the Mitannian chariot was at home in Nuzi society.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Wreszinski, "Die Löwenjagd im Alten Ägypten," *Morgenland* XXIII; Moortgat, OLZ 1930, "Der Kampf zu Wagen in der Kunst des Alten Orients"; Studniczka, "Der Rennwagen im Syrisch-Phönikischen Gebiet," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. XXII, 1907, p. 147; Herzfeld, AMI IX pp. 67; Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. XIV, Wagen; Vorderasien p. 238.

¹⁵⁹ For epigraphical evidence concerning the gifts of chariots from the Mitannian to the Egyptian kings cf. Knudtzon, *Die El Amarna Tafeln*, s. v. *narkabtu*.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Wreszinski *Atlas* I pl. 17a.

¹⁶¹ No. 527 gives the impression of presenting a bull, not a horse, drawing the chariot. Perhaps this representation should be related to Morgan 893 as well as to BMQ 14, 1940 pl. IX a, which appear to show bulls instead of horses.

¹⁶² Cf. Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos* p. 93 fig. 17 and p. 100.

¹⁶³ This is obvious from the examples treated in the studies on the chariot in note 158.

¹⁶⁴ A few remarks may be made here concerning Louvre A 955. This cylinder, depicting a hunt from a chariot, has been made the point of departure for several treatises on Mitannian style (cf. Moortgat OLZ 1930 Sp. 841; Moortgat BK p. 50 note 5 and p. 51, and Wreszinski, *Löwenjagd im Alten Ägypten* p. 9). Several features of this cylinder should have precluded such a classification. The first is the shape of

No. 913 appears to represent a different type of chariot. A figure is seated in a vehicle which resembles those depicted on the Cappadocian cylinders and imprints.¹⁶⁵ These Cappadocian chariots are of the same type as seen on the standard of Ur¹⁶⁶ and on the terracotta models of chariots from the late third and early second millennium.¹⁶⁷ It seems likely that for ritual purposes, as a vehicle of the gods, this type of chariot may have remained in use even at a time when the type introduced by the Mitannians was employed for all practical purposes. This might explain the occurrence of the ancient type of chariot here on No. 913,¹⁶⁸ as well as in somewhat modified manner on the Syrian cylinder Morgan 971.

A few remarks may now be made concerning the additional designs on Nos. 910-913. No. 910 shows in the lower register an unusual type of "tree," the ribbon forming the volutes ends here in three-fold designs which come very close to the Middle Assyrian volute-blossom.¹⁶⁹

On No. 911 a tortoise is represented below the head of the horse. This animal, which rarely occurs on the Mesopotamian representations of the third millennium, is found on Cappadocian impressions as well as on a number of representations from Susa.¹⁷⁰

the horses, with large body, short neck, and small head, which is in striking contrast to our Nos. 910-913 as well as to all Syrian and Middle-Assyrian representations of horses (e.g. Ashmolean 167, 168 and Walters 79), but corresponds to such Mycenaean representations as Furtwaengler AG I pl. II: 7 and 9. The second feature is the postures of the horses, which in their violent movements approach those of Minoan representations, such as the bulls on the cup from Vaphio (Bossert, AC figs. 70-75), far more closely than any of the Mitannian designs, however violent the action of these designs may be in comparison with the rest of ancient Near Eastern art. Lastly, the two drillings combined by a line which are scattered throughout the field of Louvre A 955 are nowhere found on Mitannian designs.

To this negative evidence has to be added that of our sealings. On Mitannian designs we never find two persons standing in a chariot as on Louvre A 955, where a second figure seen in front view appears behind the archer. A Mycenaean seal, Furtwaengler AG I pl. II: 8, does show two figures in exactly that posture; even the shape of the body of the chariot in Louvre A 955 seems to correspond to that of the seal. This evidence is sufficient to prove that Louvre A 955 cannot be regarded as a genuinely Mitannian cylinder. I would suggest that it was engraved by one of the Mycenaean craftsmen who settled in some such town as Ras Shamra in the later part of the second millennium.

¹⁶⁵ E. g. Morgan 893, De Clercq 284, Frankfort, CS pl. XL n.

¹⁶⁶ *Ur Excavations*, vol. II pl. 92.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Van Buren, CIF Nos. 1244-1270, and the bibliographical references cited there.

¹⁶⁸ Of course, No. 913 may also have been copied from the Cappadocian sealing of Allippia s. Kizzi-ḥarpa, No. 977.

¹⁶⁹ I suggest the term "volute-blossom" for the design showing (as on the Middle Assyrian cylinders Morgan 592, 597, and Moortgat AG Abb. 11) two volutes joined to form, each with one end, the petal of a blossom with three stamens between these petals. Another feature on No. 910 which recalls Middle Assyrian designs is the ape squatting at the side of the tree, which corresponds to such cylinders as Morgan 596 and Newell 450.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Van Buren, MF, s. v. tortoise, and the Cappadocian imprint Kültepe 41aC.

At present it must remain undecided to what source should be ascribed the increased importance of this animal on the monuments of the second millennium, as manifested by our No. 911, by the occurrence of the tortoise on Kassite boundary stones (cf. Van Buren, MF note 224), and on Assyrian works of art (cf. Van Buren MF p. 27) and the representation of a tortoise on the cylinder Louvre A 831.

The next small group of sealings consists of Nos. 914-916. On the first of these an archer aims at a lion attacking an antelope. Except for the more plastic modelling which is apparent on the Middle Assyrian designs, this scene closely resembles, in the semi-kneeling posture of the archer and in the distribution of the figures, the Middle Assyrian hunting scene, Moortgat AG Abb. 12.¹⁷¹ No. 915, while presenting an even more sketchy execution, also renders a theme which was preserved in the Middle Assyrian repertoire, the huntsman aiming at one of the animals that flank and perhaps menace the "tree" (e.g. Weber 501).

No. 916 is not entirely preserved; it is possible, therefore, that a huntsman was originally included in the scene. The lion attacking the bull is rendered with considerable realism; another interesting detail is the occurrence of the boar in the upper field, an animal which is extremely rare on pre-Achaemenid seal-designs.¹⁷²

Nos. 917-919 present unusual renderings of figures with animals. The first shows a worshipper looking towards a lion who attacks an antelope. This combination of worshipper and animal contest is not found elsewhere. Another noteworthy feature is presented by the twist which terminates part of the upper seal-design. This twist consists of four large and three small coils. On No. 856 a twist with seven coils was encountered which obviously replaced the usual rendering of seven globes (probably the Pleiades) by drillings. On No. 917, however, the seven globes are also represented and placed below the body of the lion. It is therefore difficult to say whether or not any significance should be attached to the number of the coils contained in this twist.

No. 918 is engraved in a somewhat similar manner (the postures of the lions and the size of the rosette are identical), and both may come from the hand of the same artist. The scene here represented appears to show a suppliant goddess(?) facing a god(?) who brandishes a weapon, apparently to strike at the small human(?) figure before him. It is regrettable that the sealing is so badly preserved, because this scene, if correctly interpreted, presents a novel rendering of the intercession by the suppliant goddess.

No. 919, also engraved in the same manner as No. 917, appears to show a hero in ascending posture with one foot on the back of an antelope(?) facing attacking beasts and monsters in the form of lion and sphinx. Again no parallel can be cited for this representation.

No. 920, which perhaps also belongs to this group, shows two confronted figures, each brandishing a curved weapon in one hand and with the other raising together an indiscernible object, perhaps an animal.

No. 921 is the last sealing which might derive from the same work-shop as No. 917 by reason of the similar rendering of the heads of the human figures. The combination

¹⁷¹ The same theme was also portrayed on early Cretan seals; cf. F. Matz, *Die Frühkretischen Siegel*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928 pl. XII: 1.

¹⁷² Cf. Van Buren, MF s. v. pig; Achaemenid designs show the boar very frequently, e.g. Morgan 832, 837, Moore 104-6, Louvre A 789.

of motives on this sealing is unique: a hero raising a slain animal, two antelopes flanking the "tree," a row of mannikins, a suppliant goddess turned at right angles, and, terminating the upper edge of the sealing, a horizontal column formed by three rows of drillings. It seems impossible that all these motives are in any manner related; the only part of the design which attracts attention is the column of drilling which was previously encountered as forming part of the body of the snake on No. 738 and remained an inexplicable design on No. 784.

No. 922 somewhat resembles the foregoing imprint in the manner of engraving. Two mannikins appear in semi-kneeling posture, flanking an elaborately drawn tree. A number of carefully engraved animals are placed in the field. Below is a row of antelopes, between whose heads appear a rosette, star, and small bird.

Nos. 923* and 924 are characterized by a carefully executed "tree" which is so similarly rendered that a common origin can be assumed. No. 923* shows two figures, one in a semi-kneeling posture; their relation is indiscernible because the sealing is fragmentary but No. 924 shows the entire beautifully executed design preserved. The "tree" alternating with a group of three rampant animals is an extremely effective design, but not paralleled so far on either Nuzi sealings or Mitannian cylinders in collections.

No. 925 shows a carefully engraved but curiously incongruous representation. A figure touching the "tree" and another raising an animal by the hindlegs are placed side by side. An animal on its haunches, a vessel, and a circle with inscribed cross are placed in the field.

An unusual design is presented by No. 926, where a bow-legged mannikin, a figure which does not occur on any other Nuzi sealing, grasps with one hand the pole of a sun-standard, which, as on No. 855, is placed on a mountain indicated by four drillings. This mountain rests on the tails of two confronted lions whose raised forepaws are merged. With the other hand the mannikin seems to hold one of the two birds that are placed in the upper field.

Another unusual representation is No. 927. Tree, griffin, and rampant antelope are here rendered in a manner not encountered on other Nuzi impressions.

Similarly, No. 928, which shows two confronted rampant antelopes with a vessel placed above them in the field and three small animals, one above the other at the side of the (pine) "tree," is engraved in a manner seen only here.

No. 929 presents a design divided into two registers by a horizontal band filled with cross-hatching. The human figure in the lower register may be turned at right angles, and may have been intended as attacking the lion; Mitannian cylinders, however, present the only examples of lions triumphing over dead human beings (e.g. Morgan No. 1043). Perhaps these representations are due to a misunderstanding of the Egyptian representations which show the royal sphinx overpowering the enemies of the king. The style of this imprint corresponds to that prevailing in Group XV.

No. 930 seems to show figures kneeling before a vase. Representation and manner of engraving are unique.

No. 931 may present an Old-Babylonian cylinder with Nuzi additions. Such a combination would account for the representation on this sealing of a goddess facing a worshipper with a vessel placed before her on the ground and a bird perched behind the worshipper. A figure, apparently brandishing a dagger appears behind the goddess and a large loop-staff is in the field.

No. 931a is equally unparalleled on the Nuzi designs. With a few lines made by the

cutting wheel and three drillings, a human(?) figure is indicated holding a pole at the side of another vertical bar:

The following sealings, belong to the Common Style.

Nos. 932-935 show figures in a gesture of worship before animals, but only No. 932, showing a procession of figures approaching a lion, gives the impression of having been intended as an actual portrayal of animal worship. No. 932a, for example, may show the worshipper addressing his gesture not toward the griffin but toward the twist which appears to replace the "tree" as symbolical design. On No. 933 the spear-like standard may have the same significance, whereas the animals with crossed bodies can be taken as a mere filling motive, since they are represented innumerable times in this manner. The bungled sun-standard on No. 934 may again be the principal object of worship, although both deity and worshipper turn their backs to it. No. 935 shows too little of the scene to permit a conclusion as to the role of the animal.

Nos. 936-938* present processions towards standards. No. 937 shows an interesting feature in the lion-club standard from which two tassels hang down and the loop-staff placed horizontally above it in the field. The principal object of worship on the latter, however, is not a lion-club standard with loop-staff but a sun(?) standard on which the disk apparently is indicated by a rosette.

No. 938* is one of the earliest Nuzi imprints. While too badly preserved to be of great value, it seems to show worship of the symbol of Marduk. The sealing is distinguished by its large size and the round caps and heavy contours of the figures.

No. 939 shows an extremely crude rendering of a wheel formed by human figures. Its significance is discussed in note 253a.

No. 940 presents two dancers grasping the lion-club. The fact that they are dancers cannot be doubted, as the posture of their feet corresponds to that of the figure in the Egyptian hieroglyph for dancing. I regard the design of this sealing as one of the prototypes of the scenes portraying two men with crossed feet holding the "bouquet tree" as seen on the majority of the sealings in Groups IV and V. As has been shown on p. 17 and 48, the "bouquet tree" was derived from the lion-club and the crossing of the feet is merely a different step from the one portrayed on No. 940. Both steps, however, render the skip-dance (cf. Sachs, WHD p. 30). This dance, in which either foot is used, is carefully distinguished in the Hebrew language from the jump-dance, in which the dancer leaves the ground with both feet.¹⁷³ In addition, the dancing with a "bouquet," or as on No. 940 with a "lion-club" (probably meant here to represent a vase which could hold water, see p. 110), belongs clearly to the class of fertility dances executed with a maypole or equivalent emblem (see again p. 110). Here, then, we have proof of the existence of the "ritual practices" in connection with the bedecked maypole which Sidney Smith and, following him, Frankfort (see note 233) assume to have taken place around the "sacred tree" in Assyria. Only in one point does the evidence of our seal impressions disagree with Frankfort's views. These dances are executed with the "lion-club" or the "bouquet tree", both apparently artificial objects (see note 230). There was therefore no transformation on the Mitannian seals from the "simple rendering of a natural tree . . . into the 'sacred tree' of scrolls and palmettes" (Frankfort, CS p. 207). On the contrary, only the Middle

¹⁷³ King David's dance before the Ark of the Covenant was a skip-dance (cf. Sachs, WHD p. 30).

Assyrian designs replace these schematic and artificial creations by realistic trees. This is the same development that can be noted in several instances: the schematic, abstract rendering of a motive on the Mitannian imprints, such as the "gate of heaven" of No. 745 or the platform of Nos. 746 and Nos. 907-909, was transformed into completely realistic representations in the Middle Assyrian period; the realism of the Mitannians was limited exclusively to the movements of the human (or divine) and animal figures, which show greater violence than hitherto encountered in Mesopotamian glyptic.

As to the antecedents of these dances on the Mitannian designs, they consist of a pair of dancers, either grasping each other by the hand (Morgan 517, 555, 556, Louvre A 341 and 455) or, as on a cylinder from Susa (Louvre S 532), holding a standard. These cylinders all belong to the crude products from the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and may manifest the influence of provincial glyptic.¹⁷⁴ An indication of the fact that this dance was not indigenous to Mesopotamia is the absence of these dancers on representations preceding the First Dynasty of Babylon¹⁷⁵ and by their complete disappearance after the Mitannian period.

Dancers in the same posture as on the Babylon I cylinders mentioned above are seen in a round dance on representations of the Old Kingdom (e. g. Brunner-Traut, TAAE p. 21 Abb. 6). In representations of the New Kingdom this pair occurs alone as the two Muu, the grave dancers (ibid., p. 56, Abb. 29). One figure, similar to that depicted on De Clercq 236, is seen in a tomb of the period of Amenophis II, where this dancer again represents a priest of the dead (ibid., p. 48, Abb. 21). It seems possible that the dance and this specific step or posture were derived from Egypt, where, as has just been shown, it occurred as a standard design far earlier than on Mesopotamian monuments. Although the significance of the figures on the Babylonian representations may have been an entirely different one, it may be considered that the revival of nature which was to be brought about by dances with a vase or tree symbol was, after all, to be an awakening from death. It is also possible, therefore, that in this sense the dancers retained their chthonic character. It is regrettable that the only representation of the dances executed at the erection of the Egyptian *ded* pillar is preserved no more accurately than by a cursory drawing (ibid., p. 52 Abb. 26). At this ceremony, which Sidney Smith proposed as the prototype of the Assyrian rituals concerning the "sacred tree", dances were performed. Although none of the dancing pairs (except perhaps 28 and 29), is seen in the posture of No. 940, the fact that the principal feature of these "tree rituals" was a dance, gives considerable weight to Sidney Smith's suggestion concerning a connection between the elements of the worship of Aššur and Osiris.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ On the Syro-Cappadocian imprint Cér. Capp. pl. A: 4, a dancer may be depicted before the enthroned god. This merely shows, however, that, while they knew this dance, the engravers of these cylinders had no reason or desire to portray it more often in their designs.

¹⁷⁵ An exception is presented by the sealing of the First Early Dynastic period, Legrain, *Ur Excavations* vol. III, 374.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria* p. 128 and Frankfort CS p. 206. It must, of course, be remembered that tree rituals and dances with a maypole are widely distributed throughout the world (cf. Sachs, WHD p. 65), and that it is therefore always possible that the people of the land of Mitanni derived these elements from elsewhere.

No. 941 presents a figure with scimitar and a worshipper on each side of a pole surmounted by a rosette. While the two figures are taken from the representations of "two figures with tree," as seen, for example, on Nos. 121-181, the pole with a rosette can only be explained as representing a sun-standard. This is the only instance of the occurrence of a sun-standard on the sealings of the Common Style. Moreover, the unusual shape given the figures and the animals places No. 941 outside of the above-mentioned subgroup of sealings, Nos. 121-181 in Group III.

No. 942 shows a worshipper followed by a suppliant approaching a figure with scimitar. An ancillary group is formed by a rampant lion and antelope. The style of the sealing is exceptional, as the figures show far deeper modelling than is usually encountered on Nuzi impressions.

No. 943 presents two figures at the side of a rampant stag. This group as well as the pair of rampant lions at the left, seems to show more plastic expression than is encountered as a rule on the scenes featuring figures with animals and assembled in Group X.

No. 944 is only a fragment, but the sealing must have been exceptionally large and of a very distinctive type of engraving.

No. 945 appears to show two confronted figures in semi-kneeling posture at the side of a fish. The ancillary groups of the sealing, one of which is inverted, as well as the two principal figures, present a cursory and unusual type of engraving.

No. 946 shows an equally unusual rendering of the figures. The headgears of the two personages who are approaching a third were undoubtedly intended for horned mitres; their shape however, is curious.

No. 947, showing a crude design of one seated(?) and three standing figures, gives the impression of having been made with an unfinished seal stone.

Another exceptional representation is found on No. 948, where a mask probably intended to portray the face of the nude bearded hero (seen in careful execution on such sealings as Nos. 775 and 776) is alternately placed in reverse.

No. 949, in which only bare outlines are preserved, shows as an ancillary figure a nude bearded hero turned at right angles; perhaps more than one such figure was represented.

On No. 950 we find a startlingly realistic representation of a charging bull galloping toward what appears to be a wheel formed by the bodies of lions.

Nos. 951 and 952 present sealings in which the designs merely present abstract patterns. On No. 951 the cuneiform signs are, for once, employed with their full decorative effect, and the overall impression conveyed by the design is not that of an inscription but that of a pleasing pattern terminated by striped bands. On No. 952 a twist and a garland form the sole decoration of the sealing.

GROUP XXVII (Pls. XLVII-L, Nos. 953-1011)

The present group includes sealings made with cylinders engraved in periods preceding that of Nuzi. Nos. 953-957 range from the Jemdat Nasr period to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur; Nos. 958-978 are "Cappadocian" sealings; Nos. 979-1002 are imprints made from originals of the First Dynasty

of Babylon; and Nos. 1003-1011 are Syrian impressions. Some of the last-mentioned sealings may have been made with cylinders engraved at the time of the Mitannian empire.

In the first subdivision of these earlier sealings, No. 953 corresponds to the Jamdat Nasr cylinder published by E. Heinrich, *Fara* pl. 71 e. No. 954 is a Brocade Style sealing of the type given in Frankfort, CS pl. VI e-i. No. 955 is a Sargonid sealing presenting the typical figure of the Sun-god with rays emanating from his shoulders, as for example on Frankfort, CS pl. XVIIIa. No. 956 shows in the rendering of the two figures who kneel on either side of the enthroned deity a close relation to OIP XLIII Fig. 101 c, a cylinder from Tell Asmar which may be determined as a late- or post-Sargonid product (cf. op. cit., p. 203). No. 957 is unequivocally assigned to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur by the inscription, which names Ibī-Sîn, the last ruler of that dynasty.

In the group of "Cappadocian" sealings, Nos. 958-961 show the rendering of the face by a pointed angle for the nose and two horizontal incisions for mouth and chin and the indication of the hands by three-pronged forks, all engraved in the deeply cut manner characteristic of the Old-Assyrian group (see p. 98). The most frequent motive of this group, an introduction before a seated deity who holds a cup, is represented by Nos. 958-961. A bull with a protuberance on his back on which a bird is perched, as seen on Nos. 958 and 959, is a typical Cappadocian design.¹⁷⁷ The scorpion placed in the lower half of the ancillary motive on No. 958 can be paralleled by Lewy TC III 76 and 78, the two mannikins in the ancillary motive of the same sealing by RA XIX p. 168: 14. For the human-headed bulls, whose heads are merged into one on No. 960, Lewy TC III, 40, Morgan 845 can be cited. Contests of bull-men and lion, as seen on No. 961, are not documented elsewhere as ancillary figures in Cappadocian introduction scenes, although they are frequently found on cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty (e.g. Morgan 321).

The following sealings, Nos. 962-978, belong to the "provincial Babylonian" group (see p. 98). As mentioned below in the characterization of this group, the principal themes are generally similar to those found on the cylinders of the First Dynasty of Babylon; one or more details of "provincial" character, however, determine the classification of the respective design in the present group. Thus No. 962 presents the worship of a seated deity but shows her holding a vase, which apparently is of the same type as the one standing on the ground on the Old-Babylonian sealing No. 979, and which is never found in the hand of a Babylonian deity. While an Old-Babylonian parallel (Morgan 327) can be cited for the Sun-god in ascending posture standing at the back of the throne on No. 962, no design of the First Babylonian Dynasty shows an attendant carrying in one hand an upright scimitar and in the other another (indefinable) weapon or emblem. The nude female, moreover, placed as a filling figure between the suppliant goddess and the worshipper (not visible on the photograph) has her hair gathered in a knot, reminiscent of the Sargonid coiffure and found only on Cappadocian sealings (e.g. Kültepe 30aA). Finally, the small drilling

¹⁷⁷ For a comprehensive iconographical study of the bull, cf. Malten, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes*, vol. XLIII, 1928 90 ff.

placed at random in the field before the seated deity, as well as the general style of the figures, corresponds to an impression on a Cappadocian tablet in Prague (I 450 RS "C," unpublished).

No. 963, likewise showing a seated deity with a worshipper before him (or her), is characterized as provincial by the reversed inscription which we find again on numerous Cappadocian imprints (e.g. Lewy TC III 3, 13, 14, 28 etc.). This feature, which is found again in Nuzi glyptic (for example Nos. 199 and 290a), documents the fact that the seal-cutter who engraved such a "mirror inscription" on the cylinder was not acquainted with the cuneiform signs; he merely copied a pattern given him, thereby producing the reversed writing on the impression. Another feature which confirms the classification of No. 963 as belonging to the "provincial Babylonian" group is the head-gears of the figures. The brims of their caps are marked by vertical stripes, a practice typical of this group (see also p. 98 and note 191).

On No. 964 the garments of the figures, showing the shoulder-straps converging at the waist and probably tucked into the belt, indicate the "provincial" derivation of the original cylinder. The nude bearded hero, depicted on this sealing with clasped hands, and without the cup or the streams given him when he stands alone on the seals of the First Babylonian Dynasty, is found depicted in similar manner on the Cappadocian impression Kültepe 20 a "D" and also on Morgan 865 and 875. The large drillings placed at random between the figures are probably no later addition but were made by the "provincial" Babylonian workman, as similar drillings can also be observed on such "provincial" designs as Morgan 864 and 865 as well as on Berlin 516.

No. 965 is characterized as a "provincial Babylonian" impression by the fish and sun-disk, the first corresponding to a similar design on Cér. Capp. pl. D: 6, the second to op. cit. pl. B: 3. Furthermore, the garment of the deity shows the shoulder-straps converging at the waist, as on No. 964. A noticeable feature on this sealing is the vessel placed in the upper field above the loop-staff. The manner in which the bottom of the vessel is marked by vertical lines is characteristically Cappadocian and is found on sealings of the Old-Assyrian as well as the "provincial Babylonian" style.

Nos. 966 and 967 show a theme frequently encountered on cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty, a worshipper followed by a suppliant goddess offering a kid to the Sun-god. Small details as well as the generally angular character of the engraving, however, attest the "provincial" origin of these cylinders. On No. 966 the garment of the worshipper corresponds to that seen on the "provincial Babylonian" cylinder Morgan 876. Another distinctive detail is the inverted animal in the upper field. No. 967 is characterized as belonging to this group by the vessel in the upper field, which corresponds to that of No. 965.

For the classification of No. 968, the fish placed before the ascending god serves as a guiding factor, as the same fish has previously been encountered on No. 965. A noteworthy detail on No. 968 is presented by the bird with his head turned backwards. This is a typically Cappadocian design, encountered most frequently in the Anatolian group (see p. 99). Finally, the emblem held by the ascending god deserves attention; it is probably the staff surmounted by a minute crescent, which is typical of the cylinders belonging to the "provincial Babylonian" style.

No. 969, showing one of the favorite Cappadocian themes, a Weather-god on a bull, displays its "provincial" origin by the deep and linear engraving which is especially obvious in the faces. Further support for this classification is furnished by the

obliquely striped garments of the worshippers, which can be paralleled by the "provincial Babylonian" cylinders Morgan 873, 874, 882.

On No. 970 the small human figure placed before the bull is not encountered in Old-Babylonian glyptic and may therefore be taken as a "provincial" feature. Furthermore the gesture of the Weather-god, who brandishes a weapon with one hand while holding the lightning fork and the bull's leash in the other, is again unparalleled on Old-Babylonian designs but is frequently found on Cappadocian impressions.

No. 971 shows deities rendered in the Old-Babylonian manner. The Goddess of War, however, is never represented on Old-Babylonian cylinders together with the Weather-god. For this reason alone, No. 971 can be classified as "provincial."

No. 972 also can be ascribed to "provincial" sources because of the mirror-script, which corresponds to the inscription of No. 963. The sealing is badly preserved, however, and it is therefore also possible that it presents the copy of a Babylonian original by a Nuzi engraver.

No. 973 presents a god in ascending posture grasping an indiscernible emblem. The obliquely striped garment of the worshipper corresponds to that seen on No. 969; furthermore, the snake placed vertically in the field is an indication of the "provincial" derivation of this sealing, as such snakes are frequently inserted on Cappadocian sealings (e. g. Lewy TC III 64, 65). The gesture of the worshipper or attendant who appears to grasp the body of the snake is not documented elsewhere.

The classification of No. 974 is not quite certain; only the fly, placed below the god's scepter and corresponding to a similar design on No. 965, can be cited as indicating the provincial affinities of this sealing.

No. 975 appears to show two figures approaching a bull, a frequent theme on Cappadocian impressions and cylinders. The rosette placed above the bull, however, is a Nuzi addition, as rosettes are never encountered on Cappadocian impressions.

No. 976 was included here because of the correspondence of the short-skirted hero to the worshipper seen on Cér. Capp. pl. B: 5. The impression is badly preserved, and this classification must therefore be made with some reservations.

No. 977 presents the well-known Cappadocian theme of a person seated in a chariot drawn by four horses. Some variation in the rendering of the scene is introduced here by the platform placed under the attendant who stands behind the chariot.

No. 978, finally, is a somewhat ambiguous design. The figures of the bird¹⁷⁸ and of the animal seated on its haunches before the enthroned deity indicate Syro-Cappadocian (see p. 99) origin; the style of engraving, however, corresponds more closely to such "provincial Babylonian" sealings as No. 963.

In the next group of sealings—engraved in the style of the First Dynasty of Babylon—the first two, Nos. 979 and 980 perhaps also 981 show a worshipper followed by a goddess advancing towards an enthroned personage, possibly the king.¹⁷⁹ These scenes as well as No. 982, which shows an interceding goddess leading a worshipper

¹⁷⁸ Animal and bird are depicted before the enthroned deity on Lewy TC III: 17; a bird on the lap of the deity is seen on Cér. Capp. pl. A: 4.

¹⁷⁹ The enthroned personage may be the king as well as a god. For this problem cf. Frankfort, CS p. 162.

towards an enthroned deity, are more frequent among the earlier products of the First Dynasty of Babylon than among the later cylinders of that period.¹⁸⁰

Nos. 983*-985 all show the Sun-god in various scenes. Although very badly preserved, all these sealings manifest the elegant manner of engraving which is characteristic of the best cylinders deriving from the time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna as exemplified by the imprints on Louvre A 527 and A 553. No. 983* shows a detail deserving attention: a sun-standard placed on a stool which is raised on a pole. This standard may be related to those of Nos. 746 and 907-909 discussed on pp. 66/7, and certainly represents a Nuzi addition to this Babylonian design.

Nos. 986 and 987 are fragments manifesting the same careful manner of engraving as the foregoing imprints. Equally minute execution is found on No. 988, which presents a most unusual feature in the female(?) archer seen in side-view, holding a bow and carrying a quiver from which the arrows protrude. It is not impossible that, despite its strong Babylonian affinities, this sealing derives from a copy of an Old-Babylonian cylinder made by a Nuzi engraver.

On No. 989 the god seems to hold a crescent standard, and the attendant behind him holds a curved emblem in a representation recalling that of the "provincial Babylonian" sealing No. 962. It is possible, therefore, that the seal should be classed in that group, although the figures appear to be rendered in the same manner as on such Babylonian cylinders as Louvre A 317. A scorpion, vessel and a lion and goat, the last two taken from Old-Babylonian contests and rendered in cursory manner, might support such a classification.

No. 990, which is very badly preserved, appears to show two pairs of contestants, bull-man and lion-griffin at the left and perhaps nude bearded hero and lion at the right.

Nos. 991-993 present a figure in the frequent Babylonian theme of god with the mace facing a suppliant goddess (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 168). The style of No. 991 seems to correspond to Louvre A 485 B, an imprint on a tablet of the time of Warad-Sîn. The other two imprints are too badly preserved to permit detailed stylistic comparisons.

Nos. 994-997 present a figure in the same attitude as the god with the mace but wearing a tall head-gear, perhaps an abbreviated horned mitre. On No. 994 the scene is the same as on the three foregoing imprints; the ancillary motive, however, shows another Old-Babylonian group, the winged lion-dragon replacing the lion as the attacker of the goat sitting on its haunches. On No. 995 the scheme of the principal scene is enlarged to include a second suppliant goddess. Here numerous filling motives were added by a Nuzi engraver: nude female, standing mannikin, and a second mannikin in semi-kneeling posture whose back is discernible in the upper left corner of the sealing. Furthermore, two vessels (one of them over the head of the standing mannikin), a loop-staff, and a bull's head were inserted, whereas the porcupine (under the nude female), a human head (above her), and a third vessel are from the hand of the earlier seal cutter. On No. 996 the figure who on the two foregoing imprints was the recipient of worship approaches a sun-god, recognizable by his saw. At the left is a suppliant goddess. Here also the hand of the Nuzi engraver is discernible in the additions inserted on the cylinder. These are two large rosettes, a star, and two

¹⁸⁰ No. 979 resembles Morgan 316 even in the cluster of the three drillings placed in the upper field. The tall vase on a stand, however, is not encountered on any extant cylinder of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

standards, the upper one showing a sun-disk with inscribed cross set in the crescent of the moon, which, in turn, rests on a pole in a stand. This might be another standard to be added to those discussed on p. 66/7.

No. 997 may represent the same scene as No. 996, the suppliant goddess being replaced here by a nude female, and the whole design rendered in the cursory manner characteristic of the late Old-Babylonian cylinders.

No. 998 presents a somewhat related scheme: a god with the mace faces a deity, perhaps rendered as on No. 997, while a worshipper(?) appears to replace the nude female. The linear engraving also recalls the manner in which No. 997 was cut.

No. 999 again corresponds in the manner of engraving to No. 997. The scene shows the goddess of war, god with the mace, and a nude female at the left in typically Old-Babylonian rendering.

No. 1000 presents a god with the mace, facing a suppliant goddess, while a worshipper(?) is seen behind him, and a nude female is added as a filling figure. The extensive use of the drill indicates that the original of this sealing was transitional from Babylon I to Mitannian glyptic if not actually a product of that period.

No. 1001 may be related to a cylinder found at Tell Asmar in the top layers (OIP XLIII fig. 104c). A few late cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty show this motive of a procession of men (e.g. Morgan 551-553), probably under peripheral influence.

No. 1002 has preserved only the three columns of the carefully engraved inscription.

The last group of "foreign" sealings on the Nuzi tablets comprises those made with Syrian originals. No. 1003 is very badly preserved but may be related to such seals as Morgan 912, 913 and 917, which could be assigned to the First Syrian Group (cf. Frankfort, CS 252 ff.) because of their relation to cylinders like Frankfort, CS pl. XLIo.

No. 1004* can easily be classified in the Second Syrian Group (cf. Frankfort, CS 260 ff.), since the nude goddess with elaborate coiffure is as characteristic of that group as the row of mannikins (with a helmet topped by a triple crest) who are identified by Frankfort with Mitannian noblemen (cf. CS p. 266-267). The same nude female, placed as a small figure between a suppliant goddess and a tall figure wearing a mantle and holding a bow, indicates a similar classification for No. 1005. No. 1006 might be associated with a cylinder of the Second Syrian Group, Morgan 960, where two suppliant goddesses are depicted on either side of symbols placed in the field. The sealing should not be placed too late in the Second Syrian group, because the garments of the male figures do not show the elaborate curving borders of the mantles which are distinctive of the later products of this phase (e.g. Morgan 955).¹⁸¹

A date in the Second Syrian Group is indicated for No. 1007 by the animal in the upper panel of the ancillary motive, which corresponds to the style in which the antelopes are drawn on a cylinder from Ras Shamra.¹⁸² No. 1008 shows the winged demon with the horizontally ridged and long fringed skirt which is also found on such cylinders of the Second Syrian group as Ashmolean 158 and Morgan 958, 959.

No. 1009 has been placed here with some reservations. The sealing shows the "head with long locks" which Frankfort has discussed (CS p. 265). It is furthermore found

¹⁸¹ Frankfort included this cylinder among those which are contemporary with the sealing of Sauššattar (cf. CS p. 267 and note 1).

¹⁸² *Syria* XIII 1932 pl. XI left, third seal at left of lower column.

on the seal of a servant of Zimrilim, Hague 25. The principal figure on No. 1009 was probably a weather-god holding the lightning fork; a second figure is broken off.

No. 1010 has been included here because a figure grasping an animal by the neck is found only on Syrian designs (Morgan 931 and 932).¹⁸³

No. 1011 presents in the rampant antelopes at the side of the tree and in the wrestling hero and lion motives which are certainly more popular in Mitannian than in Syrian glyptic. Nevertheless, the execution of the design by fine graceful lines and the absence of the drill may indicate that this is a late Syrian seal under Mitannian influence.

¹⁸³ This very distinctive manner of grasping or pushing the victim is also preserved on the "Melian" amphora, E. Bushor, *Greek Vase-painting*, London, 1921 pl. XXVI, Fig. 52, and on the Mycenaean seal Bossert, AC fig. 396e.

II. THE NUZI MATERIAL IN ITS RELATION TO EARLIER GLYPHTIC GROUPS

A considerable number of impressions found on tablets from Nuzi, Nos. 953-1011, were made with cylinders engraved in earlier periods. It seems likely that these seals were unearthed whenever the layers of Gasur, the older city, were turned up in order to lay the foundations for one of the new buildings of Nuzi.¹⁸⁴ Examples of the use of older cylinders can also be adduced from other periods of Mesopotamian history, but (so far as the limited publication of seal impressions permits judgment) the engraving of such cylinders put to secondary use always shows some relation to the glyptic style prevalent at that period in Mesopotamia.¹⁸⁵ In Nuzi, however, the Brocade Style cylinder No. 954 was used on a tablet of Tarmi-tilla, and cylinders belonging to the different glyptic spheres of the earlier part of the second millennium were used together with the contemporary Nuzi products. At first glance this might lead to the assumption that no definite style and no feeling for glyptic tradition existed in Nuzi. This, however, is disproved by the fact that none of these earlier sealings were copied or used in a conspicuous manner by the Nuzi engravers.

This indicates that whatever relations can be established between the Mitannian glyptic of Nuzi and that of the earlier periods must be of a genetic nature and are not due to direct, accidental contact.

In the following, an attempt to determine the character and scope of these relations is preceded by a short survey of the glyptic groups prevalent in the first centuries of the second millennium. The material best suited for such a survey comprises the impressions on the Cappadocian tablets.¹⁸⁶ These

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Nuzi I p. 49-50 for the depth of the foundations in the houses of Nuzi.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. the Middle Assyrian seal impression (Louvre A 795A) on a tablet of the Achaemenian period, the products of which show the same thorough modelling as the Middle Assyrian cylinders, and Morgan 48, which was re-used and inscribed with Neo-Babylonian characters at a time when running animals and "violent pursuit of monsters" (see p. 123) were frequently portrayed on contemporary cylinders.

¹⁸⁶ No other contemporary material presents so many different styles of seal-engraving. Photographs and all other available reproductions of the impressions on the Cappadocian tablets have been collected by E. B. Reilly and, pending the publication of this material, have been generously put at the disposal of the writer.

sealings, from the 19th-18th century B. C.,¹⁸⁷ represent six major stylistic groups.¹⁸⁸

- 1) *The Old-Assyrian Group* is characterized by very deep and usually coarse engraving; the cylinder of Sargon I of Assyria was cut in this style.¹⁸⁹
- 2) *The Babylonian Group* consists of imprints engraved in the style and with the motives that became representative of the glyptic of the First Dynasty of Babylon.¹⁹⁰
- 3) *The Provincial Babylonian Group* comprises imprints that present Babylonian themes and figures as the principal motives but show un-Babylonian traits in the manner of the execution, especially in the garments of the figures.¹⁹¹ The cylinder of a servant of Šamši-Adad I, Louvre A 284, is engraved in this style, which is thus proved to have been still in existence after the end of the Cappadocian colonies. Representatives of this group have been found in Syria¹⁹² and even in Egypt.¹⁹³ The fact that 16 of the "Cappadocian" imprints on the Nuzi tablets belong to this style attests its wide distribution in the

¹⁸⁷ For the date of the Cappadocian tablets c. 1850-1775 cf. Albright, *AJA* XLVII, 1943, p. 492.

¹⁸⁸ It is almost unnecessary to point out that not every impression found on the Cappadocian tablets can be fitted into this scheme. There are naturally single pieces and small groups which fall outside this general division.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, München, 1933, Abb. 6.

¹⁹⁰ For example, *Cér. Capp.* pl. A: 6 corresponds, in the nude bearded hero and the suppliant goddess, to the sealing on an envelope of the time of Sin-muballit, Louvre A 522 B. It may be mentioned, however, that these earlier Babylonian designs lack the elegance which distinguishes the impressions on the tablets of the time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna (e.g. Louvre A 527 and A 553). For a treatment of the glyptic of the First Dynasty of Babylon cf. Frankfort, *CS* 147 ff.

¹⁹¹ Typical examples of this style are Morgan 862-893. Most characteristic of this group is the vertical striping of the upturned brims of the caps usually worn by the worshippers (a very good example is given by Kültepe 34 A6); also typical is the manner in which the upper part of the garment of the gods is formed by broad shoulder straps that converge at the waist (cf. also *JAOS* vol. 61, p. 109 sub no. 315). Furthermore, the bodies of animal figures, and frequently also those of human beings, are marked by deeply cut, short, parallel lines (e.g. Louvre T 229).

¹⁹² E.g., the cylinder published by Dussaud, *Babyloniaca* XI, 1929 pl. III: 3, as having been found at Ras Shamra. M. Claude F. Schaeffer informed me privately, however, that the cylinders published by Dussaud did not come from that site, but were purchased from dealers.

¹⁹³ Cf. *JEA* VIII pl. 23: 4 from Memphis; the most characteristic "provincial" feature of that cylinder is the emblem which the deity holds; it is the same staff with small crescent on top seen, for example, on Morgan 876 and 877.

region northwest of Babylonia, whereas only a few of these cylinders appear to have been used in Babylonia itself.¹⁹⁴ It thus appears that the cylinders of the present group present the provincial or peripheral contemporaries of the higher products of Babylonian glyptic. The term "provincial Babylonian" may therefore be accepted for these cylinders.

- 4) *The Anatolian Group* is chiefly characterized by the herring-bone pattern on the robes of the figures and by the frequent occurrence of animals in the designs. The bodies of these animals are usually marked by rope-like lines following different directions.¹⁹⁵ This group shows the greatest independence from Babylonian glyptic. Moreover, no representative sealing has so far been found outside of Asia Minor; it seems likely, therefore, that this group was produced exclusively in this region.
- 5) *The Syrian Group* is represented by only two imprints on Cappadocian tablets.¹⁹⁶ This nevertheless proves the existence of a fully developed Syrian glyptic (the "First Syrian Group")¹⁹⁷ at the time of the Cappadocian colonies.
- 6) *The Syro-Cappadocian Group* contains cylinders with motives that are common to the Syrian and "Cappadocian" repertoires. The principal difference between this and the "First Syrian Group" is the more linear character of the engraving in contrast to the exquisite modelling of the Syrian cylinders. It seems possible that this Syro-Cappadocian Group presents the provincial counterpart to the higher products of Syrian workmanship, and that the relation between these two groups is the same as that of Babylonian to "provincial Babylonian."¹⁹⁸

To sum up the evidence here adduced: about 1800 B. C. the Syrian Group

¹⁹⁴ Use of such cylinders in Babylonia is documented by the imprints Louvre A 520 (B), A 517 (F), and by the cylinder Louvre T 229 found at Telloh.

¹⁹⁵ Typical representatives of this group are Stephens, *Old Assyrian Letters and Business Documents*, New Haven, 1944 pl. LXXXI: 24 a, b; *Cér. Capp.* pl. C: 3, 4 and pl. D: 4. It may be noted that the herring-bone pattern seen on the robes of the figures on cylinders of this Anatolian style, is also found on contemporary moulds from that region (cf. D. Opitz, *Altorientalische Gussformen*, AfO Beiband I, 1933 pl. VIII figs. 13 and 15) and is used as a decorative device on gold jugs discovered in the excavations of Alaca Hüyük (cf. *Ill. London News*, July 21, 1945 p. 80 figs. 13 and 15).

¹⁹⁶ OIP XXIX fig. 247, e 844, in the right upper corner; and Lewy, "Old Assyrian Documents from Asia Minor," *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*, Bruxelles, 1937 (Walters Art Gallery 48. 1464).

¹⁹⁷ For a treatment of Syrian glyptic cf. Frankfort, CS 252 ff.

¹⁹⁸ A cylinder cut in this style published by Dussaud, *Babyloniaca* XI, 1929, pl. III: 1; cf. note 192 above.

prevailed in Syria,¹⁹⁹ the earlier phase of Babylonian glyptic in Babylonia. The Syro-Cappadocian Group was apparently in existence between Syria on the one hand and Eastern Asia Minor on the other. The "Provincial Babylonian" as well as the Old Assyrian Group can be assumed to have been distributed in the regions northwest of Babylonia. The Anatolian Group, finally, was limited to Anatolia. Aside from the Babylonian and Syrian Groups, which are so well defined, relations exist, of course, among the other four groups, especially as regards subject matter. The name "Cappadocian" as a comprehensive term for the motives and other features common to all four groups is therefore retained here.

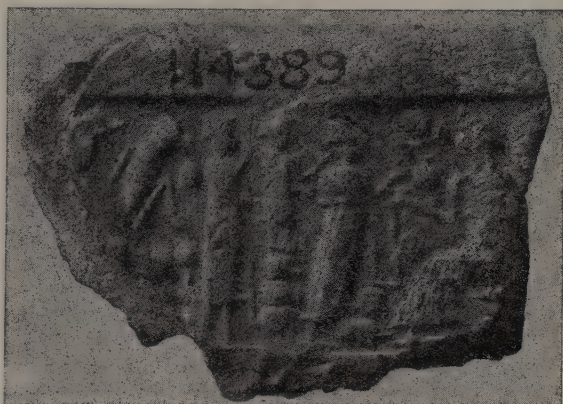


FIG. 1. (BM 114389)

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Turning now to the period of the Mitannian sealings from Nuzi, i. e., about 1450 B. C., we see the following glyptic distribution: the Syrian groups continuing in Syria, Kassite glyptic prevailing in Southern Mesopotamia and the area formerly "occupied" by Syro-Cappadocian, provincial Babylonian and Old Assyrian glyptic now taken up by the Common Style of Mitanni.²⁰⁰ It seems reasonable, therefore, to ask whether the groups formerly in existence in this area had been displaced by the Mitannian style or whether (and to what extent) they had contributed towards its formation.

The first group which demands our attention in this respect is the Syro-

¹⁹⁹ Cf., however, Frankfort, CS p. 261, for the possibility of the existence of other contemporary groups in the same area.

²⁰⁰ For the distribution of the Common Style of Mitanni cf. Frankfort, CS p. 279 notes 1-7 and p. 280 notes 1-3.

Cappadocian. Some of the sealings belonging to this group show a far greater use of the drill than all other contemporary cylinders; an example of such an impression is Fig. 1.²⁰¹ The headgears of the figures especially manifest this technical feature by showing one large drilling for the cap, the brim being indicated by a thin line. This manner of indicating the head-gear is identical with that on most of the sealings assembled in Nuzi Group I of the Common Style. The lack of distinction between the figures which is expressed by the uniformity of these head-gears is also characteristic of our group.

The closeness of the stylistic relation between the cylinder seal Philadelphia 46 and Fig. 1 leaves no doubt as to the Syro-Cappadocian classification of that cylinder. In the former we find not only the headgears just mentioned but also two of the figures grasping a mace-standard. Only the still greater use of the drill and the more assured manner of engraving differentiates these two figures from the similar pair with mace-standard on No. 2 of our Group I of Nuzi sealings. This example establishes quite clearly, I think, the fact that the Common Style of Mitanni was derived from those glyptic groups (in this case the Syro-Cappadocian) which may be assumed to have preceded it in the regions of its distribution.²⁰² The predominant use of the drill which spreads a cover of uniformity over the Mitannian seals tends to obscure such stylistic relations, which would have otherwise been quite obvious.

This statement can be supported by other similarities between the designs of the Common Style and those of the "Cappadocian" groups. Thus the semi-kneeling mannikin actively taking part in the scene, as on Nos. 2 of Group I and throughout Mitannian glyptic, is a typical Syro-Cappadocian figure.²⁰³ The nude female, who is almost exclusively limited to the sealings of Syro-Cappadocian style on the Cappadocian imprints, is represented in the same profile view (without the veil and garland typical of the Syrian designs)²⁰⁴ on No. 1 and all other Mitannian representations of this figure.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Another very typical example is the cylinder Louvre A 865.

²⁰² Although it cannot be proved at present, it seems extremely likely that the Syro-Cappadocian group continued with little change long after the cessation of the Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia (the time at which its existence is documented by imprints). In this it would only conform to the "genuine" Syrian glyptic where the variations from the 19th to the 15th century B.C. are so slight that it is often difficult to distinguish between cylinders that are several centuries apart (cf. also Frankfort, CS p. 261, note 1).

²⁰³ E.g. Cér. Capp. pl. C: 1, Morgan 902-905.

²⁰⁴ The only two published Cappadocian imprints which show her with veil and garland are Weber 271 (VAT 9238) and Cér. Capp. C: 2.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 281, for a remark to this effect. It must, however, be stated

As to the bird-standards seen on Nos. 2, 16 and 17, it may be suggested that they are derived from the Syro-Cappadocian and Syrian poles which show a male and female head with a bird perched on top.²⁰⁶ Finally, the crossed bulls of No. 16 correspond to the crossed animals on the Syro-Cappadocian cylinders Morgan 901 and 906.²⁰⁷ This last feature again establishes connection not only between Group I of Nuzi and the earlier glyptic, but with the entire Common Style of Mitanni, in which crossed animal bodies are one of the most distinctive decorative devices.

Two figures drinking through tubes from a vessel seen on Nos. 18 and 19 are likewise a motive for which Syro-Cappadocian or Syrian influence is responsible.²⁰⁸

The examples so far mentioned have all been chosen from Group I, which thus appears to contain a very considerable amount of earlier (mainly Syro-Cappadocian) features. On the cylinders of this group, furthermore, the standards especially the mace-standard, take the place occupied in the subsequent groups by the "tree." As shown on p. 17, 48 and on p. 110, the "tree" is a secondary development preceded by different types of standards and emblems. It thus seems possible that Group I, with its close relations to the Syro-Cappadocian group, should be regarded as one of the original Mitannian groups of the Common Style.

As to the connection of Group I with other groups of Nuzi sealings, the occurrence of the star and the bird standard in Group II is the most obvious indication of a relation between the sealings of these groups. Moreover, the faces of the figures in Group II, in which usually only the nose is accentuated and the narrow brim of the cap is often marked, indicate a genetic relationship between Group I and II, the more carefully executed pieces of the former being taken as the predecessors of the latter.

In this second group we encounter another feature for which Syro-Cappadocian derivation may be assumed, namely, rows of animals. This form of

that on late products of the First Dynasty of Babylon the nude female also occurs with her head in profile, e. g. Morgan 488, 494, 497 and 502.

²⁰⁶ For this emblem cf. Moore 132 and the references cited there. Other explanations of the bird-standard are also possible, see p. 115.

²⁰⁷ Another indication of the closeness of the relation between the Syro-Cappadocian group and Mitannian glyptic is the headgear with a spike in front seen on such Syro-Cappadocian cylinders as BN 423. This is found again on BN 430 and 439, cylinders of incipient Mitannian style.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Moortgat, BK p. 31. On p. 35, Moortgat comments on the "perhaps only accidental" absence of this motive from the Mitannian glyptic. Our Nos. 18 and 19 prove that he was correct in expecting this motive to be preserved in the Mitannian seal designs.

decoration of the cylinders was completely abandoned in Mesopotamia after the Early Dynastic period but occurs quite frequently on Cappadocian designs.²⁰⁹

Another group which manifests "Cappadocian" tradition is Group X. Here we find processions, which are a frequent motive on "Cappadocian" designs,²¹⁰ and figures standing on a row of animals, an equally well-known Cappadocian motive.²¹¹

The design of figures standing on animals often brings about vertical composition in such ancillary motives as animals flanking the "tree"; examples are Nos. 475-478, 480, and 482. This vertical composition has been regarded as one of the most marked achievements of the Mitannian engravers;²¹² a related and almost equally pleasing composition, however, was already attained by the "Cappadocian" seal-cutters of Louvre A 842 and Morgan 894.²¹³ Another compositional feature which may be observed on sealings of Nuzi (Nos. 587 and 589) is the pell-mell filling of the space, for which "Cappadocian" antecedents can again be furnished.²¹⁴

While the relations so far established between "Cappadocian" and Mitannian glyptic mainly concern the imprints of the Common Style, those of the Elaborate Style show "Cappadocian" tradition limited to three iconographical features. The first and most important of these is the Weather-god on the lion-dragon (see pp. 57 and 122) the second is a god holding a loop-staff on No. 625 (see p. 46) and the third is the figure on a stag on No. 744 (see p. 65).

The next group from which Mitannian glyptic derived many of its elements is the Syrian. Frankfort has discussed at length the derivation of the monsters, griffin and sphinx, as well as of the different types of guilloches or twists from the Syrian repertoire.²¹⁵ He has also traced to this source the

²⁰⁹ A characteristic example is BN 280; imprints are Lewy TC III: 93-97.

²¹⁰ On the Cappadocian designs the processions are usually directed towards a bull or some other animal (for example Morgan 855-861, 885-890, 890, 897-899). Whether the animals on sealings like Nos. 456, 458, and 459 should be similarly interpreted or should be regarded as figures composing an altar or were merely filling motives, must remain undecided. The only sealing which unequivocally appears to show adoration of an animal is No. 932 (see p. 88).

²¹¹ E. g. Louvre A 868, IM 16193 (Iraq Museum, unpublished).

²¹² Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 273-274, and Herzfeld, AMI IX pp. 1 and 4.

²¹³ Morgan 894 belongs to the Anatolian group (see p. 99). Whether or not Louvre A 842 should be assigned to the same group cannot be ascertained, because the photographic reproduction of the sealing is not sufficiently clear.

²¹⁴ E. g. *Cér. Capp.* pl. D: 4, C: 3.

²¹⁵ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 185 and 273. It seems possible, however, that a considerable

motive of antelopes or monsters flanking the "tree" and the desire for symmetry expressed in this motive and applied wherever possible in Mitannian composition (cf. CS p. 185).²¹⁶

In addition to these features, which account for many of the ancillary motives on the Nuzi sealings, both in the Common and in the Elaborate Style, the theme of "mannikins in a row" represented in Groups VIII and IX of the Common Style may be a Syrian heritage. Contrary to all Cappadocian representations,²¹⁷ the mannikins on the Syrian and Mitannian seal designs have their legs crossed, as if marching in battle formation or performing a battle dance (see p. 116-118).²¹⁸

In the Elaborate Style, Group XVIII consists exclusively of sealings containing strong Syrian influence. These sealings do not, however, form a stylistic entity, but vary considerably in the engraving and motives, thereby probably indicating that they are of diverse origin. As Frankfort has stated (CS p. 273), the Nuzi sealings do not contain as many Syrian features as the Mitannian cylinders found farther to the West. Most of the sealings which show strong Syrian influence may therefore be regarded as having been made with cylinders brought from elsewhere.

Coming now to the third source of Mitannian glyptic, the Babylonian, we find that its influence was almost entirely restricted to the sealings of the Elaborate Style.²¹⁹ The first group of imprints of this style, XVI, is com-

part of this influence did not come directly from Syria but via the Syro-Cappadocian group, in which many of these elements are contained. The sphinxes and guilloche, for example, occur on the Syro-Cappadocian imprint Lewy TC III: 18. Furthermore, many of the Cappadocian stamp sealings show various types of twists, e.g. Lewy TC III: 101, 102, 104, 105.

²¹⁶ Moortgat, BK p. 35 cites this motive as "ein sumerischer Bildgedanke." Indeed, this motive, created in the Early Dynastic period, was preserved not only on cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty (e.g. Frankfort, CS pl. XXVII 1) but also on moulds from Mari (cf. *Syria* XVIII, 1937 pl. XII: 1). It thus seems as if this motive was merely revived by the Syrian and Mitannian engravers to whom its symmetrical composition was especially pleasing (see also p. 114).

²¹⁷ Even on the Cappadocian cylinder De Clercq 284 the mannikins, which otherwise correspond to those following the chariot on such Syrian cylinders as Ashmolean 168 and Newell 341 do not have their legs crossed.

²¹⁸ It is possible, however, that the battle dance which is presumably portrayed was introduced contemporaneously in Syria and in the land of Mitanni, because the "marching men" are not found on any cylinders of the First Syrian group.

²¹⁹ Frankfort's references to Mitannian designs showing Babylonian influence (cf. CS p. 182-185) are to such sealings as are assigned in the present work to the Elaborate Style. Thus, his text-fig. 44 is our No. 661 of Group XVII, and text-fig. 52 is our No. 788 of Group XXIII. The only Common Style cylinder which he mentions

posed solely of designs derived from Babylonian examples.²²⁰ A certain number, Nos. 602-608, are outright copies of the characteristic type of scenes and figures found on cylinders of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

The group of small cylinders with a wealth of figures deriving from the end of the Dynasty is represented by Nos. 609-612. Of these sealings, only Nos. 610-612 show the extensive use of the drill which characterizes the extant cylinders of the group (see note 63). The small number of these sealings indicates that, at least as far as the Mitannian glyptic of Nuzi is concerned, this particular group does not appear to have had any specific influence in its formation.

Another small group of sealings (Nos. 613*-618) is likewise derived from the Old-Babylonian style; it seems to be limited to the earliest period of Nuzi glyptic, and does not appear to have had any specific influence on other groups. This group deserves mention only because it originated in Elam, which suggests some glyptic exchange between that city and Nuzi.

Most abundant are those designs where Babylonian figures are used with characteristic Mitannian additions, Nos. 619-633.²²¹ In a sense the sealings of Group XVII can be added to this class of Babylonian derivatives, since they show as the principal motive the Babylonian scheme of "god with emblem" or "figure with scimitar" (the latter probably derived from the Babylonian god with the mace, see p. 49), facing a suppliant goddess or priestess. The ancillary motives of that group, however, are mostly Syrian.

In the glyptic of Nuzi as a whole the principal figures derived from the Babylonian repertoire besides those already mentioned in the discussion of Group XVII, are the nude bearded hero and the bull-man. The latter occasionally appear on seals of the Common Style but far more frequently on those of the Elaborate Style (viz., Group XXIII).

The last glyptic group which has to be discussed in its relation to the Mitannian as manifested in the imprints of Nuzi is the Kassite. A problem arises here owing to the fact that the style of the imprints 626-631 which are

(CS pl. XXXI c), and which he interprets as presenting Šamaš with one foot upon a mountain, facing a worshipper or another god, represents in my opinion two figures in a posture of the "dance with the may-pole" of the type found in our Groups IV and V.

²²⁰ For a more extensive treatment of these sealings, see the discussion of Group XVI pp. 42-7.

²²¹ The style of these designs, especially Nos. 627-632, recalls the plain, clear lines affected in one group of late Babylonian cylinders, of which Frankfort CS pl. XXX g is a characteristic example. Perhaps even closer relation exists with the designs of early Kassite style (see p. 46).

included in the above discussed group of Babylonian derivatives, corresponds to that of the imprints engraved in the manner of Kassite cylinders, especially Nos. 684-694. The originals of these sealings may either have been made at Nuzi, perhaps in one specific work-shop or they may represent imports of a specific type of Kassite cylinders. The decision must be left in abeyance until the impressions on the tablets of the Kassite period in Babylonia have been exhaustively studied.²²²

This close relation of Nuzi and Early Kassite glyptic implies that these spheres exercised only a reciprocal influence upon each other. Thus inclusion of an inscription on the Mitannian cylinders of Group XX, which show complete independence in the pictorial part of the seal-design, may be due to Kassite influence; also the elongated silhouettes of some of the figures in the seal-design may be thus explained. On the other hand, Frankfort has pointed to the Mitannian influence upon Kassite glyptic which is exemplified by Louvre A 604 (CS pl. XXXI b). Whether the minute and realistically rendered animals of the Kassite ancillary motives inspired the greater modelling on such Late Nuzi sealings as No. 813*, or whether a general trend that led to the realistic creations of the Middle Assyrian period made itself felt first on the Kassite designs, must remain unanswered at present.

To sum up our evidence: the Common Style of Mitanni in Nuzi appears to be based on those provincial glyptic groups (principally the Syro-Cappadocian) which had formerly been produced in the area of its distribution. In fact, some of the Common-Style designs merely present a Syro-Cappadocian scene translated into the drill-technique of Mitanni. The use of the drill itself, which so completely transformed the effect of the seal-designs, may have found its point of departure in the Syro-Cappadocian group, where on some pieces a far greater use of the drill may be observed than in any other contemporaneous seal-design.

The Elaborate Style of Mitanni at Nuzi presents a far more complex picture. Here principally Babylonian but also Syrian and Kassite influence is manifested in outright copies of examples from these sources. This is best illustrated by the fact that groups of sealings can be formed according to the respective style imitated by the Mitannian engraver (Group XVI: Old-Babylonian, Group XVIII: Syrian and Group XIX: Kassite). On those sealings which show greater independence than the examples just cited (Group XVII), Babylonian figures predominate only in the principal motives, while the ancillary motives and figures are mostly taken from the Syrian

²²² For a more extensive treatment of these sealings, see the discussion of this specific group of sealings, pp. 54-6.

repertoire. In Groups XX-XXV, finally, where a genuinely Mitannian style is manifested, the Babylonian motives have been discarded or so completely transformed that they are no longer to be considered as alien elements. The most characteristic features of this Mitannian style are the display of symmetry, the frequent axial composition, the realism often employed in the rendering of the human body, and the frequent violence of movement. The last two are in sharp contrast to the abstract representation of all other figures and objects.

The difference in the two styles, the Elaborate and the Common may be explained by the fact that the Common Style cylinders were destined for the ordinary customer. These cylinders continued to be engraved with traditional motives and designs ²²³ especially those of the Syro-Cappadocian group. The technique, however, had changed to one which would permit mass production.²²⁴ The more exacting customer, however, would demand, if not Babylonian, Syrian or Kassite originals, at least good copies. The greater skill and the knowledge of different subject matter needed for these designs and consequently acquired by the Mitannian engravers enabled them in turn to embark on creations of their own.

To a certain extent the hypothesis here set forth is supported by the considerable distribution of the Elaborate Style cylinders among the more prominent citizens of Nuzi.

At any rate it is due to the divergence of the elements which were merged and lie at the basis of Mitannian glyptic that it became so rich in themes and modes of expression and therefore of such great importance for the art of the following centuries.

²²³ Cf. Moortgat, BK p. 36, for a statement concerning the survival of earlier elements in Mitannian glyptic.

²²⁴ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 280 for discussion of this "specialised technique which made mass-production—in the limited sense to be given to this term when applied to the ancient world—possible."

III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SEAL IMPRESSIONS OF NUZI

A. RITUAL MOTIVES.

a) *The "Tree."*

The symbol which take the foremost place in the glyptic of Nuzi, especially in the Common Style, is the "tree." Before entering upon a discussion of the scenes containing the tree we may review its development (already briefly discussed on p. 17 and p. 48).

On the cylinders of the First Babylonian Dynasty an emblem which I call the lion-club (see p. 17) is frequently depicted. Placed on a tall pole as a standard, it is held by two bull-men on such cylinders as Morgan 421, or used as the finial of the scene (Morgan 358); it is also seen carried as an emblem by several deities, principally by Ištar as goddess of war.²²⁵ The lion-club seems to consist of a vase-shaped mace-head on a pole or staff. On either side of the mace-head is the curved blade of a scimitar ending in the head of a feline animal, presumably a lion. The object presents a combination of two different weapons which are still represented separately, growing from the shoulders of the goddess Ištar, on cylinders of the Akkad period.²²⁶ For actual combat the lion-club was useless, since the primary use of the mace, i.e., clubbing, was prevented on both sides by the blades. It was thus only meant as a "weapon of the gods," rendered more "irresistible" by combining the cutting power of the scimitar with the smashing force of the mace (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 178 note 1). Despite the fact that excavations have hitherto failed to yield an example of such a lion-club, it seems quite certain that an actual object is portrayed on the cylinders.

This lion-club is represented on some early Nuzi sealings in a somewhat transformed manner. On No. 88, for example, where two nude bearded heroes hold its staff in the same manner as the bull-men on the Babylonian cylinder Morgan 421 mentioned above, the mace-head has been transformed into an elegant chalice, the blades into graceful volutes. On a sealing of the same group, No. 91, the blades have become the sepals of a plant, while the chalice has given way to three stamens. On No. 92 the number of stamens

²²⁵ Frankfort CS p. 178 fully discusses the various deities with whom this emblem is associated.

²²⁶ Cf. also Moortgat, VR p. 40, who cites Berlin 243 in the same connection.

has been multiplied, and all relation between lion-club and the "tree" as here represented has disappeared.

This transformation can be followed in many instances, not only where the lion-club is used as a standard but also where it is seen in the hand of a god as an emblem (see Group XVII, p. 48). Two cylinders may be used to illustrate this development: the cylinder of a servant of Šamšî-Adad I, Louvre A 284, which shows the god raising a lion-club, and Walters 54, which is related to (and probably contemporaneous with) our No. 623. On this cylinder a god in the same posture raises a floral emblem, the derivation of which from the lion-club can now no longer be questioned.²²⁷

The explanation for this development may be found in connection with the representation on No. 940 on the one hand and those of Groups IV and V, showing two figures with crossed legs, on the other. On No. 940 the lion-club, here given the shape of a vase with slender neck set in an omega-shaped frame and placed on a staff, is held by two dancers (see p. 88). In Groups IV and V, dancers in varying postures are depicted with a "bouquet-tree." It thus appears that both emblems, "bouquet-tree" and vase, were used in ritual dances presumably performed for the same purposes. The representation on a mould from Mari (*Syria* XVIII, 1937, pl. XII:2), mentioned on p. 23, confirms this supposition. There dancers are represented with vases, from each of which a tree grows, both symbols being thus combined.²²⁸ The type

²²⁷ It is possible that the initial transformation of the lion-club into a plant can already be observed on a Syro-Cappadocian sealing *Cér. Capp.* pl. C: 2; a deity standing before the enthroned god (with his back turned towards this seated god) holds an emblem which gives the impression of presenting a design related to the emblem held by the god on Walters 54. I have, however, avoided making an issue of this relation because the photograph of the imprint is not sufficiently clear to justify an unreserved statement to this effect.

²²⁸ This combination of a vase and plants (presumably made of metal; see note 230) can also be observed on the Egyptian "Prunkgefäße mit aufgesetzten Randverzierungen." It is interesting to note that such vessels are depicted in every XVIIIth Dynasty portrayal of Western Asiatic tribute brought to the Egyptians (cf. Wreszinski *Atlas*, passim). While Schaefer (*Die Altägyptischen Prunkgefäße mit aufgesetzten Randverzierungen*, Leipzig, 1903 p. 10-11) has proved that the idea of portraying flowers in a vase was inspired by representations of the Old Kingdom, a certain amount of reciprocal influence between our hypothetical "vases with vegetal designs" and the objects portrayed in Egypt nevertheless seems possible. It is striking that precisely such elaborate artificial vegetal arrangements as I believe to be portrayed on our sealings are found among the New Year's presents of ẖen-Amūn (cf. N. De Garis Davies, "The Tomb of ẖen-Amūn at Thebes," *Met. Museum of Art, Egypt. Exped.* N.Y., 1930, Vol. I pl. XIV). This may indicate some similarity in the New Year's customs of Egypt and Aššur, where Frankfort and Sidney Smith believe the principal rites

of dance here performed is quite obviously a "dance with the maypole," a type of fertility dance connected also with rain-making ceremonies in which a vase could, of course, be used as an equivalent symbol.²²⁹

The reason, finally, why the lion-club was chosen may be given as follows: the lion-club was the most frequently represented and best known of all emblems at the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which preceded the Mitannian age. Furthermore, the vase-shaped mace-head, probably hollow, may have suggested itself better than any other symbol for transformation into a vase which contained life-giving water, and in which a plant could be placed, or which also lent itself to complete transformation into an artificial plant.²³⁰ As Frankfort states (CS, p. 209), the people of Mitanni "arrived . . . not, to our knowledge, with an art of their own." They therefore grasped at the one emblem which appeared to be best suited for the expression of their ideas. Their desire, however, to arrive at an even more appropriate expression of their concepts is reflected in the different types of vegetal designs developed from the lion-club which had become a "vase." Once a completely satisfactory design, such as the "bouquet," had been evolved, the "vase" was discarded; this seems to be supported by the fact that the lion-club vase does not appear to be represented on the sealings from the end of the Nuzi period.

It may be added that the mace-standard so frequently encountered in Group I and seen on such Syro-Cappadocian cylinders as Morgan 918 should probably be regarded as an abbreviation of the lion-club standard and accordingly seems to disappear from the later Nuzi sealings, superseded in the same manner as the lion-club vase by the "tree."²³¹

As has been more fully discussed on p. 23 and p. 88, the representations of the dance with the tree confirm the theories of Sidney Smith and Frankfort

with the "bedecked Maypole" to have taken place at the New Year's festival (cf. CS p. 205). It must, however, be stressed that the interpretation of the costly objects portrayed in Ken-Amūn's grave does not appear to be quite certain (cf. Davies *op. cit.* p. 24).

²²⁹ Cf. Sachs WHD p. 61: ". . . the ecstatic rain dancers use . . . a bucket of water as their central point to dance around . . ."

²³⁰ It seems possible, furthermore, that, in keeping with the (probably) metal substance of the lion-club, the vase as well as the derived vegetal emblems were wrought from the same material.

²³¹ Perhaps also the revival of the staff with seven globes, originally created by the artists of the Third Dynasty of Ur (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 153 and Moortgat, VR p. 44) and used on those late Babylon I cylinders which form one of the transitional groups to the Mitannian glyptic, can be explained as having been given the significance of a plant by the Mitannian engravers and by those late Babylon I seal-cutters who were already influenced by the new concept.

concerning rituals performed with a tree in Assyria and even demonstrate the character of what was perhaps the most basic of these rituals, "the dance with a maypole."²³²

Probably these dancers were no ordinary men; sometimes they wear the horned mitre of deities (e. g. Nos. 265, 270, 272), and occasionally they are clad in mantles (e. g. Nos. 262, 286). Usually, however, they are nude, wearing only a girdle and a round cap with upturned brim. All this appears to indicate that they were meant to impersonate deities in these rites, performed presumably for the revival of nature.

The "vase," the "bouquet" and the other vegetal designs here discussed are represented alternately with a short staff (or shaft) as an emblem, or with a tall pole or stem signifying a tree. Both representations, however, can be taken as expressions of the same idea, because fertility dances can be performed either with an emblem carried by the dancers or around the tree, which is firmly planted in the ground (cf. Sachs, WHD p. 65).

There seems little reason to doubt that where a god carries as his emblem the lion-club vase or a derived vegetal design ranging from flower to "bouquet," he is in some manner connected with the "tree" and vegetation. This is of considerable importance in regard to the scene depicted on Walters 54, where the god represented may easily be Aššur, who is mentioned in the inscription. Again Sidney Smith and Frankfort appear to be fully supported in their theory of the association of Aššur with the generative forces of nature by the evidence of the Mitannian material²³³ (see also p. 48).

The next representations to be discussed are those which depict figures standing at the side of a tree. These belong chiefly to the Common-Style groups III, VI, and VII. The figures are represented in different attitudes, of which those of worship, prayer, and supplication may be treated first. I define "gesture of worship" as the raising of one hand, "gesture of prayer" as the clasping of the hands²³⁴ (which appear to be hidden in the folds of the robe), and "gesture of supplication" as the raising of both hands. While the first two gestures are performed by figures, presumably worshippers, clad

²³² Dancers with a maypole are found throughout the area presumably covered by the land of Mitanni; while some seals like Berlin 564 belong to our Nuzi groups (here Group V), others show different execution and can be assumed to have been produced either in the place where they were found or in other Mitannian centers of seal-production.

²³³ Cf. Frankfort, CS p. 205 note 1, and Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, London, 1928 p. 128.

²³⁴ For a discussion of this gesture, cf. Opitz, "Die Händehaltung der menschlichen Figuren in der babylonischen Kunst des III. Jahrtausends" (AfO VI 1930-1931, 59 ff.).

in long robes and wearing round caps with upturned brims, the gesture of supplication is made only by the suppliant goddesses, or by figures attired like worshippers but wearing the scarf of the suppliant goddess, and thus perhaps characterized as priestesses (see p. 30).

Another gesture which is frequently encountered is the grasping of the tree by one or two figures. This gesture is never performed by worshippers but only by figures clad in shorter garments (e. g. Nos. 131 and 132, or Nos. 106-108), or wearing a mantle open in front. Some of these figures, especially those in short and tight-fitting garments, may be static portrayals of the personages who elsewhere dance with or around the tree. Others, such as the figures wearing the mantle (e. g. No. 286), may be deities, perhaps sufficiently characterized as superhuman beings by the sole fact of grasping their emblem and therefore portrayed without the distinctive horned mitre of the gods.²³⁵ This is probably also true of the seated figures who grasp the tree, as on Nos. 215-222, 340 and 341.

Finally, the figure wearing a mantle open in front (usually leaving the short undergarment visible) and holding a scimitar, who is frequently seen at the side of the tree, requires explanation. On p. 48 and 55 I suggest that this figure may be identified with the king. The weapon which he holds must have served not only for characterization but was probably being grasped in readiness for a certain task.²³⁶ This task is illustrated on those scenes where the "figure with scimitar" is surrounded by rampant animals. Undoubtedly he is there represented in a contest or hunting exploit, although the lack of realism on the Mitannian designs, and in this static scene in particular, makes it difficult to detect the action underlying these scenes. Nevertheless, representations like No. 417, where (perhaps for reasons of symmetry) the figure with scimitar is duplicated, strongly suggest that the killing of animals (here antelopes) takes place around the "tree." As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,²³⁷ the concept of the "tree" and the fact that it was threatened by certain beings and protected by others, was apparently so familiar in Neo-Assyrian times that the most schematic indication of a plant was sufficient

²³⁵ The same is true of the lion-club standard, which is only grasped by the above-described (probably superhuman) figures and by bull-men and demons. Only the mace-standards constitute an exception, as we find worshippers (or at least figures not specifically distinguished from them) grasping the mace-standard, as for example on Nos. 1-3, 5, etc.

²³⁶ In the same manner, Ištar and Nergal, the deities of war (e. g. Morgan 371-383), hold their scimitars, which they were presumably thought to use in battle.

²³⁷ Cf. the discussion of Morgan 610-626 in the forthcoming vol. I of the *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*.

to convey the contents of the scene. It seems possible that, like most other Assyrian ritual and mythological conceptions, the idea of protection of the "tree" goes back to the time of the Mitannian empire.

We have to consider lastly whether or not the interpretation of the figure with scimitar as one of the protectors of the "tree" can be brought into accord with the identification of the personage as the king. Here we are entirely dependent on inferences from Assyrian texts and representations. One fact must be borne in mind: in Assyria the king was the representative of the people in relation to the superhuman forces (gods, demons, etc.). Officially, this idea was expressed by his position as high-priest; practically, it was manifested by the rituals which the king had to perform,²³⁸ among which should probably be included the hunts.²³⁹ As yet there is no explicit proof of the participation by the king in rituals concerning the "tree"; however, it seems impossible to conceive that he, as the principal actor in all Assyrian ritual, should not have played a predominant role in this connection. The most obvious part that he could have played is that of a protector of the "tree."²⁴⁰ The "protection" would take the form of slaying those creatures who menaced the "tree"—slaying them, presumably, in the course of a hunt.

Aside from the representation of the "figure with scimitar" facing rampant animals, we also find heroes raising animals in triumphant gesture at the side of the "tree" (e. g. Nos. 171, 517). Whether or not these figures should be drawn into a similar connection with the "tree" is difficult to determine; but that interpretation should not be completely eliminated except for the few representations of menace to or triumph over animals in which the "tree" is altogether omitted (e. g. Nos. 414-416, 419 etc.). These last-mentioned representations form, perhaps, the transition from the friezes of the animal contest that had survived from earlier periods to the hunting scenes of Assyrian times.

The last type of representation in which the "tree" alone is the central symbol is the one where two animals, usually antelopes, are depicted beside it. This age-old Mesopotamian motive is one of the most frequently represented

²³⁸ Cf. K. Müller, *Das Assyrische Ritual* I. Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptische Gesellschaft, Mitteilungen, Bd. 41, 1937 p. 60 ff.

²³⁹ For the importance of hunts in the lives of the Assyrian kings cf. Weidner, *AfO* III p. 160 and note 1, *AfO* VI p. 87 and *AfO* X 26 ff. Also Lacqueur, *Formen geschichtlichen Denkens im Alten Orient und Occident* (Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung VII, 1931) p. 501/2.

²⁴⁰ The protection and defence of the "tree" may correspond to a defense of the standard, which appears to be expressed on Nos. 1 and 8 by the personage who brandishes a dagger.

designs of Nuzi. The "tree" which is usually depicted, however, is not the "bouquet" or any design showing tangible relations with the lion-club vase, but another type which I have called the "tree with ribbon-volutes." This term suggested itself in connection with the murals in the palace of Nuzi (Starr, *Nuzi* II, pl. 128 H), where the "tree" appears to be formed by ribbons of different colors; the loops, with the ends of the ribbons hanging down, appear as volutes in the colorless portrayal of these designs on the sealings.

The fact that it is usually this type of tree which appears between the two animals is probably due to the origin of the cylinders featuring this theme in one specific workshop (see p. 32). It is also possible, however, that the variation in the shape of the tree was intended to indicate the varieties of its significance.

The frequent representations of this motive, the pair of animals (or monsters) with the tree, is probably due to the fact that it is a symmetrical design and was therefore especially pleasing to Mitannian taste as an ornamental motive without any specific significance.²⁴¹

b) *The Winged Disk.*

Several symbols of heaven and the sun appear on the sealings of Nuzi and seem to have been variously extended, abbreviated, and confused by the engravers. Frankfort, who has extensively treated this symbol, has summarized (CS, p. 277-278) the factors which contributed to the creation of what ultimately became the winged sun on the Neo-Assyrian monuments, as follows:

"1) The winged sun-disk of the Egyptian monuments, a symbol of the most impressive monarchy known to Western Asia in the second millennium.

2) The Indo-European conception of a pillar supporting the sky, which was pictorially expressed by means of the outstretched wings supported on one or two pillars. . . .

3) The Mesopotamian sun-standard, which influenced the rendering of the sun by a disk with a star, and also the further development of the motive, by suggesting a familiar interpretation.

4) The immemorial North Syrian ritual connected with the "Asherah" or "sacred tree," which offered another interpretation and development of the design."

In addition to these four elements, Frankfort also mentions (CS p. 275)

²⁴¹ See also note 216.

the bird with outspread wings which occurs on Syrian monuments and is there explained by him as a representation of the falcon of Horus, made under Egyptian influence.

It is possible that the bird soaring above the two drinking figures on Nos. 18 and 19 and rendered in greatly abbreviated manner on No. 549 should be interpreted in this manner;²⁴² and that even the bird-standards of Nos. 2, 16, 17, and 52, for which I have also suggested another derivation (see p. 102), are derived from Egyptian Horus standards.²⁴³

Closely related to the schematic rendering of the bird seen on No. 549 are the "wings on a pole," often represented with a globe below them. This composite symbol either appears in the sky (Nos. 542-548, 564) or stands firmly on the ground (Nos. 95, 194, 539, 540).²⁴⁴ In one instance these "wings on a pole" are supported by the head of a figure, No. 507. It is possible that the close relation between the designs of the "wings on a pole" and the schematically rendered bird is accidental, and that the wings represent heaven in accordance with the Indo-European concept mentioned above in Frankfort's summary of the components that made up the designs of the winged disk on the Mitannian monuments. The "wings on a pole" as well as the soaring bird are found mostly on sealings of the Common Style.

The winged sun-disk as such, however, is found only once on a Common Style sealing, No. 92, whereas it occurs frequently on the designs of the Elaborate Style.²⁴⁵ It is seen either as on No. 92, in the sky above a "tree," or resting on a pole, which is often decorated with volutes and streamers. Once it is placed on an altar-like design which I interpret as the "Gate of heaven," No. 745 (p. 66). In No. 749 it rests on the head of a genie (see p. 67), and in several instances it is balanced between the heads of two-headed demons, Nos. 810 and 830.

The sun-disk without wings is treated in exactly the same manner as the

²⁴² The frequent representation of birds with outspread wings seen in the sky on Mesopotamian monuments, however, should also be considered as a source of influence for this design; cf. Goetze, *ZA (NF)* VII p. 251 and note 3.

²⁴³ Another suggestion for the interpretation of this bird-standard is that it should be related to the raven on a pole seen on Kassite boundary-stones and associated by Unger with the raven on a column found at Tell Halaf (cf. E. Unger, *Alt-Indogermanisches Kulturgut in Nordmesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1938 p. 8).

²⁴⁴ Another type of representation, as seen on Nos. 314 and 332, shows animals with merged hind-quarters, supporting wings on a pole.

²⁴⁵ The fact that it is so frequent in the sealings of the Elaborate Style bears out the suggestion voiced on p. 107, that the influence of foreign and elaborate designs was greater on this section of Mitannian glyptic than on the Common Style.

sun-disk with wings, with one exception, the representations of sun-disk standards on a platform (see p. 66), where the sun-disk is never winged.

As to the figures which are represented in association with these symbols of heaven and sun, it is interesting to note that human worshippers are never depicted grasping the standard of either the winged or wingless sun-disk. In this function we only see suppliant goddesses, genii, bull-men, nude bearded heroes, and demons.²⁴⁶

c) *Music, Dance, Mask*

These three elements, which are closely interrelated, were probably never completely absent from Mesopotamian ritual; at no time, however, were they featured so prominently in the designs of the cylinders as in the Mitannian period.

Music is manifested in the portrayal of the two harpists with a sistrum in the sky between them on No. 711 (see p. 58). The same combination of instruments is found on the Akkad cylinder Louvre A 172; this may indicate that harp and sistrum had a very specific connection in Mesopotamian ritual music.

The nature of the second instrument depicted on the sealings of Nuzi is somewhat doubtful. It is the curved object carried by each figure in the row of men on No. 462. On the one hand, its shape corresponds to the weapons of the warriors on the ivory from Megiddo (OIP 52 pl. 33, [161]); on the other, it also resembles the boomerang-shaped percussion clubs seen on the portrayal of a "boomerang dance of Libyan character" in the temple of Deir el-Bahri (Brunner-Traut, TAAE p. 74, Abb. 41). Perhaps it is possible to combine both interpretations of this object, as a "weapon" and as an "instrument," because the boomerang dance originally was a "war, weapon or hunting dance" (cf. Brunner-Traut, TAAE p. 74). This interpretation, however, is valid only if the row of marching men on No. 462 can be interpreted in the same manner.

The inquiry into this problem leads us to the next element, *the dance*. A row of marching men with crossed legs, usually wearing short kilts and round caps, is among the most frequent motives of the Nuzi sealings (see Groups VIII and IX). They are depicted with clasped hands or (as apparently on Nos. 375-390) each with his hand on the shoulder of the next man. In one instance they are portrayed in two rows (No. 400)). These representations of briskly moving men are very clearly distinguished from those scenes where worshippers in their usual elaborate long garments advance in a slow, solemn

²⁴⁶ On Nos. 718 and 719 only the god appears actually to touch the standard.

procession (e. g. Nos. 550-556). Discarding therefore the interpretation of these rows as processions, we may consider a second possibility, that of men marching into battle. Such an interpretation might have suggested itself in connection with the above-mentioned ivory from Megiddo (OIP 52 pl. 33, [161]). With the exception of No. 462, however, the marching men are never equipped with any objects that could be interpreted as weapons.²⁴⁷ On the Syrian representations from which the Mitannian are probably derived (see p. 104), only the leader of the row is occasionally seen with a spear, which he strikes into the ground before the enthroned deity on Louvre A 901.²⁴⁸ On other occasions (e. g. Morgan 944), he holds the crook which is a distinctly ritualistic emblem throughout the ancient Near East. This last-mentioned evidence precludes, I believe, the simple interpretation of our rows as men entering battle, but indicates a combination of "battle formation" and "ritual" which we can find only in a battle dance. Several indications support this assumption. The first is that the "row" is used in battle dances (cf. Sachs, WHD p. 155). The representation of two rows on No. 400 might also fit in with this type of dance (cf. *ibid.*). Perhaps the most convincing argument for interpreting the "rows" as columns of dancers is furnished by No. 373. There four men are pictured each with one hand stretched upward, one leg thrown back and all giving the impression of leaping forward. The movement here portrayed (also executed by one figure on No. 529) may correspond to such leaps as are seen on the representation of the Hathor dance from the grave of Intefiker (Brunner-Traut, TAAE p. 39, Abb. 15), a Middle-Kingdom mural from Egypt. The action on our Nuzi sealing, however, makes a far more violent impression than the corresponding Egyptian representations. In any event there can be little doubt that the men of No. 373 are portrayed in a group dance. Finally, a relief from Carchemish, showing six identically clad men, has been correctly interpreted by Moortgat (BK pl. LXXX:1 and p. 82) as portraying dancers. These show the same gesture (the hand laid on the shoulder of the next man) as depicted schematically on Nos. 375-390 and in more explicit manner (permitting immediate identification) on such Syrian designs as Louvre A 901 and De Clercq 395. This gesture, then, which so obviously belongs to a group dance and not a realistic march into battle,²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ See, in contrast to the rows, the warriors with scimitars on No. 474.

²⁴⁸ This may be a specific gesture of Syrian ritual, as it is repeatedly found performed before an enthroned deity (see our No. 662, a sealing manifesting strong Syrian influence, and note 89). Perhaps it may even be associated with the gesture of the Turtânu (or prime minister, cf. OIP XXXVII p. 96) in the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad, V. Place, *Ninive et L'Assyrie*, Paris, 1857. Tome III^{me} pl. 28.

²⁴⁹ The realistic march into battle as the actual pace of men who cover varying

affords, I believe, final proof of the interpretation of these marching men as a column of dancers.²⁵⁰ Returning with this interpretation to No. 462, we should now find little objection to the explanation of the dancers' curved objects as weapons which could also serve as rhythm-producing instruments in a battle dance; ²⁵¹ they may have been sounded by striking them together in the manner of percussion clubs.

A few "rows" of human figures present not male but female personages (Nos. 409-413). The posture of these figures differs from those of the male dancers in two respects: they are never seen with crossed feet, and on the two best preserved sealings (Nos. 409 and 413) they are slightly bent over. The most striking feature of those sealings, however, is that the figures are all turned at right angles.²⁵² This may have been true also of No. 413, which is a fragment. It seems, therefore, that the direction in which the female figures were depicted had a special significance. If we carry over the idea of dancers from the rows of male figures to these representations of females, the explanation for this change of direction becomes very simple: the alternative dance formation to the row in the group dance is the circle. This is the oldest form of the group dance (Sachs, WHD p. 144) and occurs frequently in dances performed only by women.²⁵³ Since the portrayal of dancing

terrain and advance towards the enemy is of course very different from the march step used in parades. To illustrate this point we need only mention the goose-step of the German soldiers and the running step of the Italian Bersaglieri. Many ancient portrayals of marching soldiers may therefore be interpreted as showing them in parade step, which is far more closely allied to a rhythmic dance step than to that used in actual battle. Examples of such running in a parade are Bossert, AC p. 124 fig. 228 (Cretan officer conducting Negro guards) and H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture*, Paris-Brussels, 1928. p. XXXIX: 2 (a representation of the Lydian auxiliaries of Aššurbanipal). The fact that our rows of marching men are often seen following a chariot on Syrian cylinders (e.g. Ashmolean 168) can also be explained as showing these men in a parade step.

²⁵⁰ The fact that battle dances were performed at this time may be proved by the scene depicted on a terracotta plaque from Larsa (Van Buren, ClF fig. 139 (No. 509)). There two men are apparently depicted executing a boxing contest to the accompaniment of an orchestra. The conclusion that the contest is carried over into the dance seems obvious. The date of this plaque in the Nuzi period is indicated by the representation of similar boxers on our sealing No. 756 (see also p. 69 and note 133).

²⁵¹ The close relation of the representation of No. 462 and also of No. 395 to the row on the rock-sculpture of Yazilikaya (see note 35) need not invalidate this theory.

²⁵² This feature occasionally also occurs in the representations of rows of men, but the number of such designs is too insignificant to warrant a more specific explanation than that of exigencies of space.

²⁵³ E. g. Sachs, WHD pl. 6 and p. 117.

figures in a circle or "human wheel" (as on the beautiful Syrian cylinder Newell 345) was probably far beyond the abilities of the Common Style engravers^{253a} who were asked or wished to depict these "female figures," it seems possible that they chose the only convenient means of indicating the fundamental difference between the rows of men and the circles of women by turning the latter in a different direction.

Another aspect of the dance on the Nuzi sealings is presented by the acrobatic figures found in Group XII. The posture of the one who bends backwards on No. 518 to evade the attacker's stroke is repeated on No. 519*. The fact that this posture is taken from the dance may be proved by its relation to the posture of a figure on the Roman Campana-reliefs.²⁵⁴ Despite the centuries that lie between the Nuzi designs and the Campana relief and the different emotions that were meant to be illustrated (fear of death on our sealings and ecstasy on the relief), both emotions were expressed by the same timeless choreographic posture. It is noteworthy that this posture is not paralleled by any of the Egyptian designs which, despite their greater display of acrobatic skill, show more restraint in the gestures.²⁵⁵

Whether or not the design of figures falling through space on No. 518 is derived from such acrobatic postures as the hand-stand depicted in Egyptian representations (e.g. Brunner-Traut p. 50, Abb. 24) is difficult to decide. The hand realistically stretched forward to protect the head is more likely to have been observed in actual falls or leaps: this might point to Crete and Mycenae, where both leaping and falling are depicted.²⁵⁶

The interpretation of No. 518 as a mythological battle (see p. 37) would not be at variance with the fact that the postures of the figures appear to be derived

^{253a} The result of such an attempt by an engraver of the Common Style appears to be presented by the crude human wheel of No. 939.

²⁵⁴ Cf. F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle, 1926) p. 154 Abb. 222.

²⁵⁵ The bridge, for example, which is so often represented on the scenes featuring Egyptian acrobatic dancers, is never executed by human figures on the Nuzi sealings. Only the scorpion-men, one of whom is depicted on No. 730, are portrayed in this posture. A cylinder from Susa, RA XXVIII p. 43: VII, also shows a figure in the posture of the scorpion-men on No. 730. In fact, that posture is an even more exact rendering of the "bridge" because both hands of the figure touch the ground. The style of that cylinder is that of Louvre S 492-512, all cylinders found at Susa and showing peripheral renderings of Babylonian designs (cf. Frankfort, CS p. 237 and note 1). The scene depicted on the seal stone under discussion, an attack of two lions on a female, is as alien to Mesopotamian representations as that of the Egyptian acrobats. Thus whether Elam or Egypt was the source of these acrobatic postures, they are on all accounts a manifestation of a foreign element in Northern Mesopotamia.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Bossert AC p. 131 fig. 239 and p. 31 fig. 42.

from the dance. As Frankfort mentions (CS p. 97), on a certain day of the New Year's festival part or all of the Creation Epic was performed as a drama.²⁵⁷ It is more than likely that the cylinders, especially those of the Akkad period, portray such actual enactments of mythological dramas. In the Mitannian civilization which, as we have seen, appears to have attached importance to the dance, it would be only natural to expect that these mythological plays would also be cast into the frame of a dance.

It is noteworthy that, with the exception of No. 518, the acrobatic figures occur only singly in scenes of varied content. Whether they are always meant to symbolize the entire battle of No. 518 or whether they have a different significance is at present impossible to determine.

On No. 526, however, the significance of the figure seems quite clear and, despite the superficial likeness which exists with the acrobatic dancers, the figure is completely different. Here the figure bends down, obviously copying the posture of the surrounding animals. It seems very likely, therefore, that we have here the portrayal of an animal dance.²⁵⁸

The different types of dances on the sealings discussed to this point may now be tentatively listed as follows:

- (1) *Dance* with a may-pole, executed by a pair of dancers in various postures.
- (2) *Group*, probably *battle dance* executed by *men* in *rows*.
- (3) *Group dance* executed by *women*, probably in *circles*.
- (4) *Dance* illustrating *mythological* event (?) executed by acrobats
- (5) *Animal dance*.

To these types we must probably add one more, the

(6) *Masked* dance, which brings us to the final item in this chapter, the *mask*. In a few instances, figures can be quite clearly recognized, I believe, as wearing masks. In all these cases (Nos. 93*, 651*, 791, 792) the masks are those of griffins. The head and wing of the griffin are apparently made of one piece and seem to be drawn over the head and part of the upper body of a human personage.²⁵⁹ The appearance of this type of "griffin-demon" accordingly varies completely from such representations as No. 793, where the head of the

²⁵⁷ Cf. also H. Zimmern, *Das Babylonische Neujahrsfest* (AD 25, 1926) p. 14.

²⁵⁸ For a discussion of animal dances cf. Sachs, WHD 79 ff.

²⁵⁹ The same type of mask is found on the Assyrian representations, where the "face of the lion" or of the fish is drawn over the priest's head, also covering his back and part of the upper body (e.g. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*. London, 1914. pl. XVI: 1).

griffin rises organically from a human neck and the wings grow from the shoulders. On No. 792 such a griffin-mask appears in contest with a lion. In place of a realistic struggle, however, the two figures, lion and griffin-mask, give the impression of executing the rhythmic steps of a dance figure. This suggests the possibility that a masked dance is here represented, and that, as anticipated above, this type of dance should be added to the choreographic repertoire of Nuzi.²⁶⁰

The other two representations of the griffin-masks show them with a vase, from which a stream of water flows on No. 791. Both actions, ritual dance and libation, could have been easily performed by priests and observed by the engravers of our sealings. The fact that masks were used in religious practices of the Akkadian conjurer-priests (cf. Oppenheim JAOS LXIII p. 32), which are documented by texts, supports this contention. One of these masks was the *pān iššūri*, the mask of a bird; the identification with our griffin-mask is obvious.

We thus have two representations of the griffin-demon on the sealings of Nuzi: one, the portrayal of a human conjurer-priest who bound the mask over his head²⁶¹ and thus became the griffin-demon whose beneficial functions he acted out;²⁶² the other, the griffin-demon as the genuine superhuman creature in whom the features of the bird (such as the head and claws) were organically combined with a human body. This two-fold representation of demons also occurs in other cultures showing that where people believed in demons they also attempted to direct their powers by impersonating them.²⁶³ It is therefore likely that, despite the fact that none of the demons (lion and bull) on the Nuzi sealings can be recognized as being impersonated by "masks," such masks were nevertheless in existence.

Of the three elements which have here been discussed in their manifestations

²⁶⁰ It may be noted that the two lion-masks seen on the Assyrian relief mentioned in note 259 are represented with crossed feet, presumably in the posture of a dance. This Assyrian dance of "animal masks" may therefore be added to the other Mitannian features which survived into Neo-Assyrian times.

²⁶¹ Cf. Oppenheim, Akkadian "pul(u)ḫ(t)u" and melammu" JAOS LXIII, 1943 31 ff., note 5; in this connection, attention may be drawn to BN 425 where the wings of the lion-demon as well as the head of the griffin-demon give the impression of being tied on, despite the organic rendering of the rest of the demon's animal features.

²⁶² For the beneficial functions of the griffin-demon cf. Frankfort, BSA XXXVII, 1936-7 p. 120.

²⁶³ For masked priests impersonating demons in ancient Mexican rituals cf. Andree, "Die Masken in der Völkerkunde" (*Archiv für Anthropologie* XVI p. 42).

on the Nuzi sealings, one (the dance) completely disappears from the representations of the cylinders towards the end of the Nuzi period.²⁶⁴

B. MYTHOLOGICAL MOTIVES.

In comparison with the ritual representations, the scenes depicting mythological figures are in the minority, and the rendering of an entire mythological event is even less frequent. One of these mythological events is the "battle of the gods" (No. 518, see p. 37 and 119); another is the death of Humbaba (Nos. 728*, 729; see p. 60) and the schematized representations of the same theme (Nos. 768-773 and 788). The fact that the Mitannian rendering of this scene served as an inspiration for the art of the following age is proved by its reappearance on one of the orthostats of Tell Halaf and on Assyrian cylinders of the first millennium.

The third mythological representation, the attack of two gods upon a bull-headed snake (No. 738, see p. 64), was likewise retained not only in Assyrian glyptic but also in Hittite art.

As to the specific mythological figures encountered on the sealings, the most frequent is the Weather-god, characterized by his lightning-trident, who stands upon a lion-dragon (more rarely upon a lion) which vomits fire or poison (see p. 64). It seems likely that this god is to be identified with Tešup, the principal deity of the Mitannian pantheon, who was predominantly a weather-god (see note 100). The association of the lion-dragon with Tešup contrasts with the Babylonian representations, where the Weather-god is usually associated with the bull, and the lion-dragon appears most closely related to Nergal. It is possible that the Mitannian conception of the Weather-god's mount is an Akkad legacy retained in provincial regions by people who in turn handed it down to the Mitannians (see pp. 56/7 and 103). The fact, however, that on No. 712 "Tešup" faces a god (on a bull) who also seems to hold a lightning trident may indicate that a minor weather-god whose mount was the bull was also represented in the Mitannian hierarchy of gods.

²⁶⁴ Cf. however for music and dance in the Hittite ritual, Goetze, *Miscellanea*; Hittite *tarkuwa(i)* (*Language* XV/2, 1939) 116 ff.; also Moortgat, BK 81 ff.

IV. THE MITANNIAN LEGACY

The influence which the Mitannian glyptic, as represented on the sealings of Nuzi, exercised upon the art of the following centuries comprises stylistic features as well as subject matter.

Of the *stylistic features*, the most general is the vertical composition which has been extensively discussed on p. 56. Curiously enough, it is preserved only in the glyptic group which I have termed "Neo-Babylonian and which probably extends from the 13/12th to the 8/7th century B. C. The most effective designs of this group, such as Berlin 610 and 611, show vertical as well as horizontal spacing in contrast to the Assyrian cylinders; among the latter only a few early Middle Assyrian pieces (e. g. Morgan 592) retain this vertical arrangement, while the rest reverted completely to horizontal composition.

Aside from this general feature, the glyptic of Babylonia also retained a specific type of Mitannian representation, namely, the violent pursuit of animals by monsters, most characteristically represented by our Nos. 592 and 593. Cylinders engraved with the same predominant use of the drill, the same composition (violent movement of leaping figures) and the same theme, appear to have been produced in southern Mesopotamia until the 7th century B. C.^{264a} In Assyria only the theme itself was preserved, but it was translated into the "linear style" of Assyria; this together with the "drilled style" replaced the modelled Middle Assyrian style around 1000 B. C. In Babylonia, however, at least two schools of engravers appear to have retained Middle Assyrian style and Mitannian legacy far into the first millennium.

The second item in the legacy of Mitanni is the survival of its *subject matter*. Almost all the principal motives found in the Assyrian glyptic of the first millennium are already contained in the sealings of Nuzi. A tabulation of the principle themes of the Assyrian cylinders of the first millennium, with references to the occurrences of the respective themes on the Nuzi sealings, supports this statement.

Assyrian cylinders

Nuzi sealings

A. Contests

a) archer and quarry

(e. g. Morgan 610-618, 620-623, Berlin 639-642)

Nos. 914 and 915

b) hero with scimitar, threatening victim

(e. g. Morgan 619, Berlin 643, 644)

Nos. 516, 517 et passim

^{264a} See the writer's article *Orientalia XVI* (1947) 145-165.

- c) monsters and beasts of prey attacking animals
(e.g. Morgan 627-629, Berlin 647, 648, 650-652) Nos. 575-591 et passim
- B. The Sacred Tree as the Center of Representation
 - a) horned animals flanking the sacred tree
(e.g. Morgan 637, 638) Nos. 467-490 et passim
 - b) sacred tree, winged sun-disk with streams, and worshippers (usually two but at least one)
(e.g. Morgan 640-648, Berlin 677) These elements as yet uncombined on Nuzi sealings: sun-disk with streams (SMN 1160 unpublished); sun-disk above "tree," e.g. Nos. 92, 856, 857; worshippers with tree, Nos. 110-181 et passim
- C. The King, Principal Figure of the Scene
 - a) hunt and battle from a chariot
(e.g. Morgan 659-663, BN 369, 370, 372) Nos. 527, 910, 912 (personality of charioteer unidentified)
 - b) libation
(e.g. Morgan 665-672, Berlin 665-672) No. 791 (performed by griffin-demon)
 - c) ceremonial repast
(e.g. Morgan 673-675, Berlin 662-664) No. 497 (may be partaken by a god)
- D. Worship of Deities in Astral Nimbus
(e.g. Morgan 679-683, 691 and 698, Berlin 661, 596-599, 601-603) not represented
- E. Mythological Representations
 - battle of gods against horned snake
(e.g. Morgan 688, Berlin 680, 681) No. 738
 - battle of god aiming with bow and arrow against winged lion-dragon
(e.g. Morgan 689, 690, Berlin 595) not represented
 - death of Humbaba (or nude bearded hero)
(Morgan 686, Berlin 608) Nos. 728, 729, 768-773, and 788

This table illustrates quite clearly how completely the subject matter of the Neo-Assyrian cylinders is derived from that of the Mitannian designs. Moreover, the most significant divergences between these two glyptic phases can also be explained by this comparison of the themes. For example, the combination of the three elements occurring separately on the Mitannian designs (winged sun-disk with streams, sun-disk above "tree" and worshippers) into one standard representation shows how Assyrian art tended to combine and condense motives inherited from the earlier era. The second notable divergence is the performance by the king on the Neo-Assyrian cylinders of acts reserved to deities, demons, or unidentified personages on the Mitannian sealings. This point must be made with reservation, however, since even on

the Assyrian scenes identification of the principal actor with the king remains until now a plausible but not completely confirmed theory.

The third point on which Neo-Assyrian and Mitannian representations differ is the stressing of the astral aspect of the deities on the Neo-Assyrian seals by a nimbus of stars with which they are surrounded, or by stars decorating their weapons and mitres. Not a single Nuzi sealing shows a deity with a star thus added to his apparel. Louvre A 781, however, a cylinder which I consider to be a transitional piece between Mitannian and Middle Assyrian glyptic, shows a goddess with the mirror and mitre of our winged goddess on No. 736 and a star crowning that mitre. This may be considered as further proof of the specifically Assyrian origin of the representation of the gods in their astral splendor.

Another significant feature, which, however, only concerns the relation between Mitannian and Middle Assyrian designs, is the transformation of the Mitannian themes, rendered in completely abstract manner, into the realism of the Middle Assyrian representation. This can be seen most clearly in the development of the two themes discussed at length in their relation to Middle Assyrian renderings, the "gate of heaven" (No. 745, see p. 66) and the standards on a platform (No. 746*, see p. 67).

The Mitannian heritage, however, was not limited to Assyria and Babylonia. The wide distribution of its products carried its motives and technique far beyond the shores of the Asiatic continent and influenced Cretan and Mycenaean gem-cutters,²⁶⁵ besides giving impetus to glyptic activity in Cyprus.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Cf. Furtwaengler, AG III p. 30.

²⁶⁶ An extensive discussion of the glyptic development in Cyprus will be found in a forthcoming article on the *Cylinder Seals from Cyprus*.

V. INDEX OF SEAL-OWNERS' NAMES

NOTE

In this index the seal-owners' names have been transcribed according to *Nuzi Personal Names* by Ignace J. Gelb, Pierre M. Purves and Allan A. MacRae (OIP LVII, 1943); also the abbreviations JEN and JENu are similarly used.

Reference to Dr. Lacheman's reproduction by drawing of a number of the imprints here included is implied in the JEN number (also in the reference to JAOS LV).

As mentioned on p. 1 and in note 1, the tablets have been divided into four generations by Dr. Purves. The abbreviations here adopted are:

P or W	(Puḫi-senni or Winnirke)	—First Generation
T	(Teḫip-tilla)	Second “
E	(Enna-mati)	Third “
Ta	(Tarmi-tilla)	Fourth “

Within each of these generations Dr. Purves has further divided the tablets into early, middle, and late (respectively abbreviated by e, m, and l). Tablets probably written outside of Nuzi are marked by an asterisk.

The number of the tablet and the relative date recorded in the index is that of the tablet on which is found the imprint here reproduced.

Seal impressions listed as ‘seal impression of x’ could be identified as such by their repeated occurrences on other tablets.

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
1. Akkuia s. Katiri	e or mT		13. Tarmiia s. Enna-mati	lT	648
	JAOS LV, 1: 5, 8	1023	14. Ulmi-atal s. Šukriia	T	885
2. Dur-ilišu	e or mT		15. Tai-tilla s. Adatteia	m or lT	328/415
	JAOS LV, 1: 5, 12	1023	16. Kinzi		1106
3. Name broken		1112	17. Artasenni s. Apil-sin	eT	615
4. Alki-tešup s. Duḫmeia	mT	555	18. Arik-kanari s. Tulpi-senni		
5. Ziliia s. Ariia	T	424/912		mE	390/374
6. Šiati s. Šinikuše	lT	380/699	19. Šeršia	E*	218/903
7. Pai-tilla s. Keliia	eT	613/919	20. Wantari s. Ar-teše		519/274
8. Ziliia s. Ar-durubla	lT	648	21. Baṭu-kašid	eT	260/335
9. []šeia s. Ithišta	T?	994	21a. Šelwin-atal s. Akap-tukke		
10. Šeḫliia s. Ḫut-Arraphe	lT	40/441		mT	698
11. Name broken		1144	21b. Tamaku	eT(?)*	413/56
12. Teḫip-apu s. Meleia	m or lT	123/881	22. Aittara s. Šuḫun-zirira	Ta*	604/849

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
23. Uzīa s. Puḥiia	T	460/865	64. Tauka s. Arip-urašše	IT	589/694
24. Naip-šurra s. Ariia	mT	3/249	65. Ukur-šarri	mE	736
25. Arn-urḥe s. Ipša-ḥalu	eT	89/798	66. Name broken	mT	399
26. Taia s. Šeḥliia	m or eT	489/978	67. Uṭḥap-še s. Turru	mT	493/35
27. Ziliia s. Ikkūia	mT	72/236	68. Uttaz-zina s. Pui-tae	mTa	59/708
28. Wantiia s. Tur-marti	mT	981	69. Name broken	Ta*	629
29. Mušuiia s. Eḥliia	mT	305/769	70. Te[]	Ta	182/14
30. Arip-ukur	e or mT	28/186	71. Mat-tešup s. Ḥilpiš-šuh	T	478/908
31. Muš-tešup s. Ar-pūia	e or mT		72. Elḥip-tilla	ITa	308/969
JAOS LV 1/1023			73. Unaia s. Ipša-ḥalu	IT	277/808
32. Taia s. Hašum-atal	T	958	74. Bēlānu s. Akit-tirwi	eT	89/798
33. Niṇu-atal s. Šupur-adad	mT	72/236	75. Šatu-kewar s. Kuzzi	mT	484/452
34. Mat-tešup s. Naniia	IT or eE	854	76. Tintiia s. Akaja	mT	591
35. Iṭḥ-apiḥe	eT	251/141	77. Akip-tašenni s. Teḥip-tilla	eE	256/260
35a. Taia s. Apil-sin	m or IT	427/980	78. Seršiiia s. Šukriia	mT	91/747
36. Ar-zizza s. Zike	T	424/912	79. Ḥupita s. Pukkitta	ITa	294/216
37. Ḥašiuki s. Naltuia	e or mT	397	80. Keliia s. Kakki-šu	Ta	624/23
38. Punne s. Sin-iqīša	T	48/469	81. Un-tešup s. Watwa	E*	644/857
39. Akap-tae s. Kuš-kipa	IT	414	82. Akap-tukke	Ta*	111/169
40. Kintutti s. Unuki	eT	79/156	83. Unaia s. Keliia	Ta*	320/904
41. Artasenni	eT	430/308	84. Tae s. Nikriia	m or IT	68/622
42. Zaziia	eT	806	85. Tupki-tilla s. Inb-adad		
42a. Hanaja s. Ar-tešup	IT	247/54		E or Ta*	340/213
43. Akia s. Ḥašiia	mT	488/535	86. Ukur-šarri s. Arip-ukur	E	346/866
44. Iṭḥišta s. Tamar-tae	mT	44/410	87. Kel-tešup s. Huriiia	IE or Ta*	125/74
45. Apil-sin s. Šabulu	T	48/469	88. Kiannipu s. Apil-sin	W or eT	/87b
46. Tešuiia s. Aštamar-silakku			89. Name broken		943
	IW or eT	291/812	90. Urši s. Sin-nādin-aḥḥē	mT	305/769
47. Šaš-kuli	m or IT	435	91. [] s. Pui-tae	m or IT	160/601
48. Kešḥaja s. Kinniia	e or mT	269/487	92. Šumu-libši	e or mT	211/695
49. Ḥamanna s. Kaia	mE	368/767	93. Muš-Tešup s. Zirri	eT	459
50. Muš-teia s. Ar-šenni	T	958	94. Ḥani[]	mE	384/886
51. Mušuiia s. Nikazi		1108	95. Ḥaiš-tešup s. Puḥi-šenni	eT*	227/527
52. Ḥutiia s. Narwi-ilu	E*	218/903	96. Name broken		1113
53. Wantiš-šenni s. Ammari	T*	241/166	97. Šarru-muštāl s. Ekeke	mT	620/269
54. Tamaku	eT	576/950	98. Mat-tešup s. Iṭḥ-apu	mT	237/945
55. Muš-teia	mT	288/329	99. Taia s. Apil-sin	mT	283/657
56. Aḥu-waqar		1144	100. Enna-mati	eE	546/391
57. Akawe s. Šukriia	IT	594/550	101. Name broken	eE	650/310
58. Šuh-šapartu s. Ar-tešše		519/274	102. Iṭḥišta s. Ar-tae	eT	319/497
59. Record not available			103. Arrumpa s. Teḥiia	e or mT	203/647
60. Tieš-šimika s. Awilu	IT	609/585	104. Ar-zizza s. Milkūia	mT	698
61. Ḥilpiš-šuh s. Šuhun-zirira			105. Nai-šeri s. Kamputtu	eT	299/573
	IT or eE	854	106. Name broken	eT	443/136
62. Adatteia s. Šenni	T	77/955	107. Ar-tešup s. Taia	mT	250/429
63. Pilmašše s. Punne	Ta	856	108. Tai-šenni s. Aḥušeia	T	880

JEN/JENu		JEN/JENu	
109. Arim-matka	eT* 443/136	152. Muš-teja s. [jeni	mT 351
110. Arib-ḥarpa s. Enna-milki	mT 1163	153. No impression	
111. Naniia s. Lu-nanna	eT 578/1032	154. Bēliia s. Rapšeia	e or mT 221/816
112. Šehliia (?)	IT 804	(Used on same tablet by	
113. Šehala s. Kewar-atal	T 238/952	Arip-parni.)	
114. Šekaru s. Ḥutiia	eT 430/308	155. Name broken	1137
115. Nihriia s. Ikkuiia	e or mT 282/105	156. Ukur-adad	m or IT 517
116. Ziliia s. Pakka	IT or eE* 854	157. Taia	eE 367/51
(also used on same tablet by		158. Arip-apu s. Šukriia	E or later 470/369
Uthap-še s. Akawatil)		159. Ḥutiia s. Ila-nišū	Ta 212
117. Ḥapira s. Šummiia	mT 134/784	160. Zike s. Tamar-tae	T 293/959
118. Teḥup-šenni s. Piru	IT 93/867	161. Elḥip-šarri s. Gimilliia	IT 285
119. Ari-wati	T 543/528	162. Našwi s. Kaluli	IT 11/522
120. Akip-tilla s. Keliia	T 885	163. Name broken	E 280/1005
121. Name broken	m or IT 133/693	164. Kikk-apu	Ta* 772
122. Nūr-kūbi s. Igārš(u)-ēmi(d)	T* 241/166	165. Aḥuniia s. Ḥutiia	e or mTa 540/293
123. [Z]etu s. Iriš-aba	T 383	166. Šummiia s. Arik-kanari	mT 62/238
124. Keliia s. Arik-kanari	eT 79/156	167. Ziqniia s. Šarišše	Ta 128/16
125. Ḥamanna s. Ar-šanta	mT 423/133	168. Ḥuišša s. Ippuḥuiia	Ta 27/25
126. Ziliia s. Tupkiia	IT 207/26	169. Ukuia s. En-šukru	Ta* 473/964
127. Wantiia s. Naḥi-ašu	IT 11/522	170. []aia	E or Ta* 389/291
128. Daiiānu s. Ḥitani[]	IT 411/563	171. Ibnī-ištar	eE 367/51
129. Mat-tešup s. Paziia	mT 467/139	172. Uthap-tae s. Zike	mT 231/788
130. Alki-tilla	eTa 549/150	173. Ithīn-nawar s. Ar-šanta	
131. Utaia	e or mE 385/137		m or IE 304/507
132. Tiwirra s. Eteja	eT* 39/653	174. Ḥazianni s. Ge[...]wa	IT 307/618
133. Maitta s. Ward-ištar	mE 649/891	175. Arib-ḥarpa s. Ḥannaia	IT 40/441
134. Taia	e or mT 976	176. Sin-imitti	IT or eE* 854
135. Ḥutiia s. Šarišše	m or IT 381/488	177. Ḥui-tešup	Ta* 1002
136. Teḥira s. Mammaia	ITa 105/515	178. Ḥanaia s. Ar-tešup	mT 243/175
137. Kuzzu s. Karmiše	eT 1/685	179. Taia s. Apil-sin	mT 5/570
138. Unap-šenni s. Arn-urḥe	IT 414	180. Turari	eT 793
139. Kešḥaja	mT 162/477	181. Taḥirišti s. Arik-kamari	
140. En-šaku	ITa 335/82		m or IE 634/565
141. Tarmiia s. Mašante	mT 986	182. Arrumpa s. Sin[]	T 357/102
142. Ikkari s. Šenna[...]	mT 92/719	183. Ate s. Naniia	mT 245/413
143. Eteja s. Ḥuip-api	eT 42/406	184. Taia s. Apil-sin	mT 305/769
144. Taia s. Apil-sin	eT 1/685	185. Iriri-tilla	IT 411/563
145. Hašiuiki s. Naltuiia	e or mT 203/647	186. Ninu-atal s. Arip-apu	eT 341/504
146. Ewara-kali mār šarri	T 447/995	187. Šamḥari s. Ar-tarpašhe	
147. Puttu s. Aran-tai	IT 214/645		e or mT 282/105
148. Taiuki s. Kampatu	mT 75/202	188. Urḥi-tilla s. Taušeia	E or Ta* 87/901
149. Umpiia s. Naniia	e or mT 16/280	(used on same tablet by	
150. Ith-apu s. Šelwiḥu	IT 594/550	Ianzi-mašḥu s. Aittara)	
151. Šukrip-apu s. Šaḥluia	IT 277/808	189. Ar-tešup	e or mT 28/186
		190. Ili-ittiia s. Pazazi	eT 464/420

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
191. Arpin-atal	e or mT	240/405	232. Zilip-šarri s. Enna-milki		
192. Emuġa s. Kaġa	mT	414		e or mT	15/241
193. Alippiġa	m or lT*	471/217	233. Name broken		1162
194. Šukriġa s. Kurišni	eT	299/573	234. Punniġa	eE	768
195. Ar-tešše s. Ekammešu	mT	422/360	235. Taena s. Ariḫ-ḫaġa	Ta	402/126
196. Akap-tae s. Šeḫel-tešup			236. Urḫiġa s. Akku-teġa	lTa	492/203
	e or mT	976	237. Akku-teġa s. Watwa	Ta*	
197. Ḫapira s. Šummiġa	mT	196/595		JAOS LV No. 3/4	
198. Teḫup-šenni s. Piru	lT	790	238. Tupkiġa s. Enna-milki E or Ta*		86
199. Urḫiġa s. Šekaru	mT	986	239. Šešwi-nai s. Waḫri-šenni	eTa	548/211
199a. Ithip-tilla s. Tupkiġa	mT	483/378	240. Hut-arrapḫe s. Ar-tešše	E	625/122
200. Nai-šeri s. Ḫamanna	mT	243/175	241. Name broken		1101
201. Tai-šenni	W or eT*	564/87a	242. Tien-pira	eT	299/573
202. Akip-šarri s. Ekeke	e or mT	263/425	243. Ithip-tilla s. Tupkiġa	e or mT	4/594
203. [Na] ? niġa	eT	87b	244. Tauka s. Arip-urašše	eT	371
204. Uthap-tae	mE or later*	184/44	245. Uthap-tae s. Zike	lT	255
205. Ḫanaġa s. Milkuša	lT	60/712	246. Naḫiššeia s. Kip-erḫa	lT	414
206. Kawinni s. Ḫulukka	lT	60/712	247. Bēlaġa s. Teššuġa	mT	245/413
207. Ar-tešše s. Ekammešu	lT	327/715	248. Aḫiġa s. []ia	lT	270/750
208. Kutukka s. Kitinti	lE	154/496	249. Apuška s. Ithip-šarri	m or lE	1003
209. Akawatil s. Šukriġa	m or lE	621/1009	250. Unnuki s. Purn-apu	T	80/962
210. Zike s. Akitta	E or later*	601/384	251. Unaġa s. Akip-šarri	eT	299/573
211. Ḫanatu s. dEL! DINGIR.RA			252. []mali s. Šamašše	Ta	659/573
	mE	553/3	253. Pal-tilla	m or lT	356/306
212. Ar-Tašenni s. Akku-Tešup			254. Alpuġa s. Arliġa	e or mT	367
	eTa	549/150	255. Šar-tešup s. Kurišni	T	64/966
213. Šilwaġa	mE or Ta	671/1024	256. Name broken	eE	451/437
214. Šurki-tilla	lTa	532	257. Kipiġa s. Arpeġa	lT	134/784
215. Tantakaġa s. Akap-tukke	mT	426/846	258. Keliġa s. Un-tešup	mT	428/245
216. Ar-teġa s. Akawatil	mTa*	604/849	259. Akip-šenni	lTa	608/547
217. Kinnaġa s. Ar-tilla	mT	221	260. Ennaġa s. Tupšikka	mT	86/498
218. Ḫutiġa s. Ila-nišū	lE	154/496	261. Ar-tirwi	lT	807
219. Šarra-šadūni s. Ithišta	lE	101/502	262. Naip-apu s. Ith-apu	E or later	470/369
220. Tai-šenni s. Eniš-tae	eTa	549/150	263. Sin-nādin-šumi	lT	607/809
221. Akap-še s. Ḫašik-kewar	Ta	386/114	264. Tupkiġa s. Akawatil	m or lT	286/352
222. Ariġa s. Milkijā	Ta*	478/908	265. Tešup-erwi s. Šukriġa	mT	419/178
223. Ariḫ-ḫamanna s. Turi-kintar			266. Ḫanaġa s. Kaġa	Ta	105/515
	T	474/440	267. Ḫutiġa s. []	mT	306/491
224. Record not available			268. Ḫaip-šarri judge of Ulamma		
225. Tupkizza s. Ar-zizza	mT	416/94		lT*	377/660
226. Name broken	mT	88	269. Uzūa s. Puḫiġa	eT	313/642
227. Zilip-kanari s. Unap-tae	T	26/530	270. Namḫen-atal s. Keliġa	lT	226/803
228. Urḫiġa s. Šekaru	m or lT	244	271. Ar-tešše s. Šaḫ[]a	m or lT	68/622
229. Ithip-tilla s. Qišteia	lE	101/502	272. Punniġa s. Nuzza	mT	977
230. Akaġa s. Šukriġa	T or later	190/372	273. Kip-erḫan s. Ar-tunni	mT	351
231. Šekaru s. Šurki-tilla	T	783	274. Wirrika s. Arratta	eT	53/492

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
275. Muš-teja s. Sin-ibni	IT	287/914	320. Kikkija s. Šimik-atal	mT	586/404
276. Ith-apiḫe (?)	mT	423/133	321. Sin-iqšša	IT	52/872
277. Ilu-ḫaja	m or IT	517	322. Šimikuja	m or IT	517
278. Name broken	m or IT	421	323. Hutip-ukur s. Ḥašija	m or IT*	428/245
279. Wantija s. Kuššija	IT	448/540	324. Ithip-tilla s. Tupkija	mT	977
280. Unaia		709	325. Ḥamanna s. Tarmija	IT	307/618
281. Alkija s. Našwi	eT	301/651	326. Kuparša s. Urkutu	E*	644/857
282. Kelip-šarri s. Ḥamanna	eTa	116/707	327. Biri s. Arip-apu	Ta	105/515
283. Uthap-tae s. Teḫija	mTa	150/795	328. Tupkija s. Alkija	mT	583/106
284. Wirkeuti s. Kuzzu	mT	7/577	329. Ḥapi-ašu s. Teḫip-tilla	T	917
285. Šukri-tešup s. Adad-eriš	eT	53/492	330. Akap-šenni s. Ḥanakka	T	
286. Punniia	m or IT	123/881	fragment in box for 417/460		
287. Zilip-tilla s. Hutija	IE or eTa	78/204	331. Wur-tešup s. Akip-tašenni	Ta	9/210
288. Aba-ilu s. En-šukru	ITa	115/701	332. Pazija s. Takurr-ampe	IT	648
289. Terḫi-tilla s. Wantija	IT	93/867	333. Tarmija s. Šurkum-atal	IT	414
290. Ḥašip-paralla s. Paliia	T	67/863	334. Name broken		1107
290a. Urhija s. Ušurme	mT	423/133	335. []akka	T	578
291. Tanteja		1142	336. Ḥešalla s. Zume	T	26/530
292. Balṭaja s. Mār-ištar	eT	53/492	(also used on same tablet by Eḫli-Tešup)		
293. Enna-milki s. Muš-tešup	mT	422/360	337. Kai-tešup	eTa	215
294. Balṭu-kašid	T	76/953	338. Zili-ḫarpa and Šimika-atal sons of Arpiḫe	ITa	126/870
295. Kel-tešup	eT	436/494	339. Ḥup-tilla s. Naja	IE	112/290
296. Arkun	IT	330/878	340. Mār-ištar s. Kuzzariia	IT	65/606
297. Hutija s. Ariia	T	424/912	341. Urḫi-tilla s. Arip-apu	E or mTa	540/293
298. Ḥampizi s. Ar-šatuia	IT	287/914	342. Hulukka s. Wantija	IT	277/808
299. Ataia s. Nai-šeri	IT	52/872	343. Zili[]	eTa*	423
300. Arip-papni s. Šepiia	mT	50/599	344. Urḫi-tilla s. Šurkum-atal	ITa*	473/964
301. Emuia s. Ipša-halu	e or mT	2/691	345. Uthap-tae s. Zike	mT	31/273
302. Erwi-šarri s. Teššuiia	IT	246/473	346. Ith-apiḫe s. Taia	e or mT	512
303. Tupkija s. Taia	IT or eE	465/180	347. Ar-šali s. Šukriia	T	752
304. Taia s. Apil-sin	e or mT	356	348. Turar-tešup s. Ith-apiḫe	IE	130/416
305. Teḫeš-šenni s. Šuruia	m or IT*	428/245	349. Ith-apiḫe	e or mT	15/241
306. Ziliia s. Teḫip-šarri	T	426/846	350. Emuia s. Ipša-halu	eT	407/537
307. Name broken	E or Ta*	86	351. Ḥašuar s. Tarmija	T	447/995
308. Iriia s. Kel-tešup	mT	405/373	352. Akap-tukke s. Teḫup-šenni	T	57/764
309. Waqar-bēli s. Taia	mT	237/945	353. Ith-apiḫe s. Taia	eT	752
310. Ila-nišū s. Sin-napšir	IT	11/522	354. Zil-teia	IT	604
311. Zikaia s. Kutukka	mT	92/719	355. Eḫli-tešup s. Kip-talili	T	426/846
312. A-mu-ur-ra-bi		1070	356. Kinnuzzi s. Eteia	IT	52/872
313. Ibnī-ištar	eE	610/228	357. Kipija s. Tamar-tae	mT	229/741
314. Muš-tešup s. Ḥašija	eT	234/277	358. Bēliia s. Akiia	IT	40/441
315. Ḥešaiia s. Zume	IT	50/599	359. Tajuki s. Kampatu	mT	67/863
316. Waḫri-šenni s. Ḥamanna	IT	93/867			
317. []ia	mTa	819			
318. Mat-tešup s. Kelija	mT	261/754			
319. Erḫan-atal s. Urḫija	mE	278/284			

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
360. Šukrija	eE	650/310	399. Mattija	m or IT	517
361. Tarmi-tešup s. Ehli-tešup	mT	258	400. Arik-kelpē s. Tupkija	eT	249/307
361a. Name broken	mT	628	401. Ĥapi-ašu s. Watwa	mTa	818
362. Akkul-enni s. Tampuia	mT	230/748	402. Šellu s. Ariḥ-ḥaja	Ta	151/162
363. Name broken		1149	403. Turari s. []-Tani	mT	88/815
364. Name broken		1152	404. Name broken		1110
365. Puḥi-šenni s. Abu-tābu	eT	47/777	405. Kawinni	eE	571/1006
366. Bēlanu s. Akit-Tirwi	IT of eE*	301/651	406. En-šukru s. Tamar-tae	mT	584/181
367. Šur-tešup, judge of Ulamma	IT	377/660	407. Taika	E or mTa	119
368. Akap-tukke s. Tehup-šenni	e or mT	211/695	408. Kip-tae	mT	611/231
369. Tehip-tilla s. Ekeke	mT	245/413	409. Pal-teja s. Alippija	Ta	542/18
370. Ĥulukka s. Kupiri	eE	375/511	410. Zilip-tilla s. Akip-šarri	eTa	549/150
371. Pui-tae s. Tamkar-aded	E	369/957	411. Taia s. Punniia	mE	653/355
372. Aḥu-ekī s. Abija	mT	243/175	412. Mannija	Ta	547/201
373. Šukri-tešup s. Aril-lumti	T	134/784	413. Name broken	IE or Ta	1036
374. Taia s. Apil-sin	T	238/952	414. Ar-tešše s. Ekammešu	e or mT	343/138
375. Ila-nišū	T	33/292	415. Umpizzi s. Keliia	T or later	190/372
376. Ḥašin-nawar	lW or eT	800	416. Zini (?)	e or mT	1030
377. []išū []	eE or Ta*	389/291	417. Aštar-tilla s. Pui-tae	mTa	59/708
378. Waqar-bēli s. Iṭḫišta	IT	807	418. Akitta s. Lā-qēpu	mT	245/413
379. Ekeke	eT	793	419. Mat-tešup s. Tehija	mT	423/133
380. Ḥanaia s. Eniš-tae	E of ta*	87/901	420. Šukrija s. Kutta	mT	31/273
381. Arik-kani s. Arum-atal	m or IE	304/507	421. Ḥišmeia s. Iṭḫišta	m or IT	68/622
382. Ar-tirwi s. Taia	eTa*	315/909	422. Muš-tešup s. Zirri	eE	824
383. Ilu-ḥaja s. Naik-kemar	IT	916	423. Iṭḫip-tilla		580
384. Ekeke, judge	IE or eTa*	666/848	424. Paia s. Akkuia	IT	916
385. Tarmija s. Narwī-ilu	E or Ta*	87/901	425. Paia s. Akaia (?)	E	466/524
386. Kelip-šarri s. Arik-kani	E	603/267	426. Kuššija s. Šarrija	E	312/879
387. Name broken	e or mT	1030	427. Turari s. Taia	Ta	27/25
388. Kuššija s. Enna-milki	T	80/962	428. Waqriia s. Ūazzi	m or IE	1003
389. Unap-še s. Tae	IT	277/808	429. Puḥi-šenni s. Maliia		
390. Nizuk s. Al-tešup	m or IE	350	(or Amaka)	Ta	606/774
391. Našwi s. Kaluli	mT	81/153	430. Wirzīiae s. Taia	eE	256/260
392. Tur-šenni s. Nūr-kūbi	E or Ta*	541/148	431. Eniš-tae s. Ušur-mēšu	Ta*	322/207
393. Ātanaḥ-ilu s. Nan-tešup	IT	214/645	432. Name broken		1169
394. Ariḥ-ḥamanna s. Ḥatarte	T	33/292	433. Eniš-tae s. Akkapa	E	312/879
395. Balṭu-kašid	mT	417/52	434. Šurupeia	E	362/370 + 359/432
396. Name broken	e or mT	367	(photographs of impressions joined)		
397. Ariḥ-ḥarpa s. Enna-milki	mT	12/518	435. Nai-šeri s. Wantija	E or later	539/457
398. Šatuša s. Turari	T	426/846	436. Ḥišmeia s. Iṭḫišta	E	280/1005
398a. Awilu s. Pureia	mT	92/719	437. Bēlam-mušallim	IT	13/401
			438. Ḥešalla s. Zume	eE	687
			439. Elḫip-tilla s. Takuški	eTa*	315/909
			440. Ĥulukka s. [Kupe]ri	E	369/957
			441. Tauka s. Huip-erwi	m or IT	242/256
			442. Zike		1101

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
443. Name broken	E or later	470/369	485. Puḫiia s. Ḫaniu	Ta*	
444. Ḫalutta s. Ipša-ḫalu	mE	601/384		JAOS LV No. 3	
(used on same tablet also by Turari s. Tetiia)			486. Nupuia s. Šeršia	Ta	308/969
445. Akawe s. Unap-še	ITa*	473/964	487. Ḫanatu s. Akip-šarri	Ta	308/969
446. Name broken		1034	488. Zunzu s. Intiia	Ta*	473/964
447. Qišteia s. Kinzi	Ta*	111/169	489. Kupati s. Unaia	Ta	192/242
448. Tarmi-tilla s. Eteš-šenni	E	619/182	490. Ila-nišū	mE	649/891
449. Zikipa s. Eḫli-tešup	IE or eTa	78/204	491. Akip-šarri s. Ar-tešše	E	625/122
450. Ila-nišū s. Ḫamanna	eTa	102/205	492. Tarmi-tešup s. Eḫli-tešup	T	137/875
451. A-mu-ur-ra-bi	m or IE	350	493. Matia s. Zike	Ta*	320/904
452. Name broken	IE or Ta	354	(same seal used on this tablet by Arn-urḫe s. Eḫliia)		
453. Name broken	E or Ta*	389/291	494. Ḫapira	IT	438/516
454. Name broken		332	495. Name broken	eE	451/437
455. Ith-apu s. Nuzza	mT	245/413	496. Name broken		1077
456. Šurupeia	IT*	345/232	497. Nikiia mar šarri	mT	620/269
457. Nizuk	Ta	542/18	498. Ith-apiḫe s. Taia	mT	421/177
458. Hašip-arašših (?)	eE	659/841	499. Ekeke	mT	421/177
459. Ḫutiia s. Kuššia	E*	218/903	500. Šeršia s. Erwen-nanni	IE	130/416
460. Name broken	T or E	397	501. Unap-tae s. Niḫri-tešup	IT	307/618
461. Niḫriia s. Naḫiš-šalmu	IE	101/502	502. Mušteia s. Teḫiia	eE	451/437
462. Akap-šenni s. Šamaš-rimānni			503. Naniia s. Keliia	m or IE	621/1009
	IE	221/816	504. Zilip-apu s. Inni[]	T	48/469
463. Ḫatarte s. Elḫip-šarri	eT	407/537	505. Alippiia s. Kizzi-ḫarpa	E	623
464. Ḫanaia s. Akku-tešup	eTa*	549/150	506. Zilip-tilla s. Keliia	mT	201/658
465. Tai-tilla s. Šarišše	eE	659/841	507. Ataia	eT	806
466. Ith-in-nawar s. Šukriia	mE	323/246	508. Name broken	mT	986
467. Ar-tunni s. Šupukka	Ta*	320/904	508a. Pai-tilla s. Keliia	eT	752
468. Ila-nišū s. Ḫamanna	Ta	192/242	509. Taia	Ta*	921
469. []aia	eTa*	423	510. Teḫup-šenni s. Piru	IT	236/275
470. Maliia s. Makuia	m or IE	391/103	511. Ar-tirwi	m or T	
471. Akituia s. Alpuia	m or IE	605/224		517 joined to 519	
472. En-šaku s. Šellapai	mE	332/34	512. Name broken	T	134/784
473. Eniš-tae s. Ila-nišū	Ta	192/242	513. Gimill-adad	T	967
474. Mušteia s. Tillaia	m or IT	46/593	514. Taia	mTa	664/776
475. Akap-šenni s. Zike	IE	154/496	515. Ḫuia	mT	587/53
476. Iškur-andul	eE	174/434	516. Tura s. Sin-rabi	mT	239/456
477. Umpiia s. Teššuia	IT (?)	625	517. Ar-zizza	E	362/370
478. Kurmeia s. Keliia	ITa	492/203	518. Teḫup-šenni s. Šelwin-atal	mT	239/456
479. Ninu-atal	Ta*	478/908	519. Alippiia s. Kizzi-ḫarpa	eE	121/887
480. Šukri-tešup s. Ḫaip-šarri	eE	659/841	520. Iriia	IT (?)	625
481. Ubaria s. Qišt-ilabrat	E	312/879	521. Ḫišmeia s. Ithišta	m or IE	415/98
482. Akkiia	IT	538/359	522. Taia s. Apil-sin	mT	2/691
483. Urḫia s. Šekaru	IT	438/516	523. Ḫešalla s. Zume	IT	268/449
484. Pai-tilla s. En[]	Ta (?)	128/16	523a. Taia s. Apil-sin	eT	459/365
			524. Hašip-šarri s. Muraniia	mT	88/815

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
525. Name broken		189	561. Bēl-ahhē s. Tehip-tilla		
526. Birk-ilišu s. Šumatra	eE	339/132		e or mT	350/312a
527. Šukriia s. Ar-teia	eTa	116/707	562. Ilu-ṭābu s. Tupki-tilla	Ta (?)	128/16
528. Erhan-atal s. Urhija	m or lE	635/888	563. Tehiia	E	312/879
529. Gimill-abi s. Kuš-kipa	mTa	818	564. Kinniia s. Ar-Tešše	mE	272/37
530. Naziia s. Šešwaia	Ta*	255/892	565. Šummiia s. Ehlia	eE	121/887
531. Wirziae	T or E	335/82	566. Ith-apu hazanu of Purulli	T*	448
532. Taia s. En-šarru	E or Ta*	87/901	567. Šukriia s. En-šukru	E or later	470/369
533. Šennaia s. Teššua.	Ta*	331/907	568. Name broken		1068
(also used by Tarmik-kutu s. Kip-arraphe)			568a. Name broken	m or lE	92
534. Urhija s. Kariu	eTa	549/150	569. Waqar-bēli s. Taia	mT	92/719
535. Amumi-tešup s. Sin-nādin-			570. Zilip-šarri	T or E	335/82
šumi	Ta	9/210	571. Unap-šenni s. Šamaḥul		
536. Arik-kamari s. Ah-ummiša	Ta	478/908		m or lE	1003
537. Ithi-marra s. Ar-šatuia			572. Urhi-tilla s. Šukriia	Ta	147/124
	m or lE	328/415	573. Unap-tae s. Nihri-tešup	lT	40/441
538. Uššen-naia d. Enna-milko			574. Hut-tešup s. [] in-be-pa	mTa	59/708
	m or lT	68/622	575. Urhija s. Muš-tešup		578/737=1032
539. Hui-tilla		791	576. Arip-šarri	lE or eTa	78/204
540. Hulukka s. Zinnaia	Ta	308/969	577. Ar-tešup	mE	390/374
541. Tehit-tešup s. Tumšimana			578. Tarmi-tilla	E or mT	350/312a
	mTa	477/723	579. Šukriia s. Waqar-bēli	lE	113/160
(used on same tablet by			580. Tarmi-tešup s. Zike	mE	649/891
Uate s. Allaija (?))			581. Puhi-šenni s. Maliia		
542. Hamanna s. Šummiia	m or lT	242/256	(or Amaka)	mTa	606/774
543. Tauka s. Huip-erwi	mT	422/360	582. Tarmiia s. Taia	E or later	470/369
544. Akip-šenni s. Iluni	mT	606/774	583. Šimi-tilla s. Nai-keia	m or lE	634/565
545. Hanaia s. Naltukka	E or later	539/457	584. Šaḥlu-tešup s. Hunniia	eTa	116/707
546. Name broken	mT	155/392	585. Šar-tešup s. Pure	Ta*	616/923
547. Hutip-apu s. Matiia	E	619/182	586. Ar-šali s. Ahuia	mE	323/246
548. Šamaš-ri s. Silakku-abi			587. Šerpa-tašši s. Kurišni	e or mT	223/689
	m or lT	68/622	588. Kula-ḥupi	e or mT*	671/1024
549. Ar-teia	Ta*	946	589. Hutiiia s. Akaia	mT	43/408
550. Tarmi-tilla s. Akip-tilla	lT	642/845	590. Mušte[]	E	351/327
551. Šukr-apu s. Hutiiia	mT	586/404	591. Aril-lumti s. Haiš-tešup	T*	504/134
552. Waḥluki d (?) . Šekaru	T	449/871	592. Pui-tae	eE	367/51
553. Haši []	mTa	791	593. Abeia s. Ithišta	lE	112/290
554. Tae s. Nai-keia	lE	139/545	594. Ithišta s. Arik-kanari	m or lE	621/1009
555. Tupkizza s. Ar-zizza	m or lE	328/415	595. Šumu-libši s. Taia	mT	91/747
556. Tieš-simika s. Šukr-apu	Ta*	320/904	596. Zunzu s. Intiia	lE	785
557. Papante s. []aia	mTa	117/726	597. Name broken	e or mT	731
558. Šumu-libši s. Taia	mT	467/139	598. Hutanni-apu s. Tarmi-tilla		
559. Hui-tešup s. Taiuki	Ta*	331/907		lE or Ta*	143/77
560. Bēlaia s. Wantiia	Ta*	322/207	599. Ili-ittiia	eT	150/795
			600. Ilmika (?)	mTa*	592/673
			601. Unap-šenni s. Ar-tešše	E	278/284

JEN/JENu				JEN/JENu			
602.	Šûlānu s. Milki-tešup	eT (?)	374/39	643.	Hešalla s. Zume	e or mT	229/741
603.	Marduku	T	663	644.	Arrapha-atal s. Ištiri	mE	190
604.	Turar-tešup s. Mālik-nāšir	Ta	151/162	645.	Akiia s. Muš-tešup	e or mT	367
605.	Naniia	eT	79/156	646.	Name broken	E	107/247
606.	Hešalla s. Zume	mT	31/273	647.	Name broken		1044
607.	Uthap-tae s. Zike	T	76/953	648.	Haš-tešup s. Puḫi-šenni	eE	349/330
608.	Kerar-tilla s. Enna-mati	lTa	433/111	649.	Ziliia s. Hašip-apu	mT	2/691
609.	Šurki-tilla s. Hutiiia	T	917	650.	Hašuar	E	362/370
610.	Unaia	*	652	651.	Šukriia s. Kurišni	eT	613/919
611.	Name broken		332	652.	Hašip-apu s. Ar-teia	T	238/952
612.	Zilip-tilla judge of Ulamma			653.	Ithišta s. Tamar-tae	lT	224/961
		lT*	377/660	654.	Turar-tešup s. Mālik-nāšir		
613.	Winnirke m. Tehip-tilla	W	82/600			lTa	402/126
614.	Seal without name	Ta	661/85	655.	Biriia s. Niḫri-tešup	E	619/182
615.	Šilwa-tešup s. Eḫliia	eE	361/326	656.	Ithišta s. Ar-te	mT	254/237
616.	Ziliia s. Ar-durubla	T	222/868	657.	Wirraḫḫe	Ta	310/20
617.	Ilu-eriš s. Tanna-tašši	P or W	404/174	658.	Uthap-tae s. Akip-tašenni	lTa	296/206
618.	Amurru-šarr-ili s. Kāširu			659.	Akkul-enni	e or mE	385/137
		P or W*	414/316	660.	Name broken	mT	360/483
619.	Warad-teja s. Šekaru	mT	1004	661.	Name not indicated		522/472
620.	Arteia s. Ākaia	mT	35/368	662.	Šilaḫi-tešup s. Sin-nādin-šumi		
621.	Kawinni s. Ḫulukka	mT	60/712			lTa	492/203
622.	Paizani	mT	545/749	663.	Tehip-tilla s. Puḫi-šenni	T	480/997
623.	Kiannipu	eT*	66/588	664.	Hanaia	m or lT	259/505
624.	Kalmaš-šura s. Aršali	eT	459/365	665.	Akkuia's seal impression	eT	225/874
625.	Ar-tešup s. Pukia	T	33/292	666.	Kakki s. Abeia	m or lT	381/488
626.	Wantiše	W or eT*	564/87a	667.	Name not indicated		858
627.	Arim-matka s. Ili-aḫi	e or mT	439/331	668.	Hašuar (?)	E	656/966a
628.	Akip-tešup mār šarri	eT	578/1032	669.	Ḫui-te s. Maliia	lT	226/803
629.	Šûlānu s. Milki-tešup	T	357/102	670.	Unap-tae s. Hašip-apu	mT	261/754
629a.	Eḫli-tešup s. Lallu-tari	T	917	671.	Urḫiia s. Zike	E	393/757
630.	Kiliške	mT	232/805	672.	Puḫi-šenni s. Abu-ṭabu	Ta	856
631.	Ariḫ-ḫamanna s. Turi-kintar			673.	Pai-tilla	mE	660/735
		E	312/879	674.	Arrapha-atal	E	499/283
632.	Teššua mār šarri	mT	178/278	675.	Name broken		1139
633.	Kipi-tilla s. Abišeia	E	378/607	676.	Iriiri-tilla s. Enna-mati	E*	218/903
634.	Zikaia s. Eḫlip-šarri	e or mT	240/405	677.	Šur-teia s. Tae	Ta*	179/208
635.	Tarmiia s. Paikku	mT	621	678.	Name broken		678
636.	Urḫiia s. Arrumpa	mT	419/178	679.	Ha[]	T	309
637.	Piru s. Naiš-kelpe	mT	72/236	680.	Aru-pašaḫ	*	652
	(here used by Balṭu-kašid)			681.	Hutiya	eE	533
638.	Taia s. Apil-sin	e or mT	269/487	682.	Emūqā s. Balṭu-kašid	Ta	126/870
639.	No name indicated	eT	284/227	683.	Akap-tukke	mE	84
640.	Taia s. Apil-sin	T	309	684.	Hanakka s. Šekaru	lT	93/867
641.	Tarmi-tilla s. Wantiia	eE	256/260	685.	Nabû-nāšir	lT	52/872
642.	Alki-tilla s. Tehip-tilla	E	138/380	686.	Urḫi-tešup	e or mT	350/312

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
687. Warad-dûri	E	658/786	729. Ħumpiĥni s. Wantar-kintar	eE	256/260
688. Zil-tešup s. Zuia	T	199/913	730. Name not indicated	eE	110/135
689. Sikkûr-adad s. Naniia	eT	436/494	731. Name broken		1037
690. Ħašip-apu s. Ar-teia	T	447/995	732. Kel-teia s. Erišu	1E or eTa	78/204
691. Ith-apiĥe s. Taia	mT	12/518	733. Akip-tašenni, scribe	Ta	151/162
692. Elĥip-tilla s. Mat-tešup			734. Name broken	mE	84
	E or Ta*	87/901	735. Ħut-tirwi, judge of Purulli		
693. Uta-andul	IT	538/359		1E or Ta*	125/74
693a. Šimika-atal	Ta*	204/902	736. Ħutip-šimika s. Teššuia	1Ta	370/676
694. Name broken	IT or eE*	301/651	737. Pai-tešup s. Purašĥe	1Ta	370/676
695. Šurkip-šarri	mE	368/767	738. Puĥi-šenni s. Maitta	Ta	27/25
696. Ħupitaja s. Ħašiiia	eE	174/434	739. [leia	eE	240
697. Tae s. Tur-marti	mTa	59/708	740. Uthap-tae s. Nan-tešup	eTa*	592/673
698. Zizziiia s. Taia	E or later*	601/384	741. Nimkiiia s. Nirpi-atal	eE	367/51
699. Ħunniia s. Ħamanna	IT	91/747	742. Abuššeia	IT	545/749
700. Apen-atal	mE	384/886	743. Tarmi-tilla s. Šurki-tilla	Ta	151/162
701. Tupkizza s. Ar-zizza	m or IT	206/481	744. Name broken	E	1162
702. Zike	m or 1E	350	745. Name broken		1098
703. Uthap-tae	Ta	548/211	746. Kinniiia s. Ar-tešše	1E	212/464
704. Šeršiiia	E or Ta*	498/860	747. Ithišta s. Ar-tae	m or IT	213/159
705. Balṭu-šaru s. Taiuki	1E or Ta	78/204	748. Name broken	mE	520/364
706. Urĥiiia s. Ħutiia	mE	323/246	749. Turar-tešup	eTa	164
707. Uta-andul	IT or eE	431/337	750. Akip-šenni s. Umpiiia	mTa	59/708
708. Ith-apiĥe s. Taia	T	95/960	751. Name broken	T	532
709. Eĥli-tešup	T	804	752. Name broken		1150
710. Šakarakti s. Ar-tirwi	IT	246/473	753. Kenni s. Kuššiiia	1Ta	608/547
711. Akkuia	eT	353/366	754. Name broken		1073
712. Niĥri-tešup s. šali	mE	390/374	755. Akap-tukke s. Kakki		393/757
713. Muš-tešup	1E	354/99	756. Nirar-tilla s. Ħupitaja	Ta*	616/923
714. Uta-mansi s. Inb-iškur	eT	436/494	757. Name broken	T	447/995
715. Ar-šali	e or mT	456/270	758. Ith-apu s. Ħuip-erwi	eT	611
716. Name broken		1101	759. Record not available		
717. Unap-tae s. Šukriia	eE	361/326	760. Name broken		1068
718. Urĥi-tešup s. Ar-teia	E	466/524	761. Turari	eE	338/509
719. Enna-mati s. Teĥip-tilla	E	1072	761a. Record not available		
720. Tarmi-tešup s. Ar-teia	eT	409/394	762. Name broken	mT	155/392
721. Zilip-tilla outside of Nuzi*		652	763. MA.SA-Adad mâr šarri	E	138/380
722. Šeĥel-tešup s. Akap-tukke	1E	112/290	764. Akip-tašenni s. Meleia	m or IT	439
723. Šurki-tilla s. Qišteia	mT	605	765. Šurupeia s. Naniia	mE	368/767
724. Šeĥliia s. Tāb-arrapĥe	E	378/607	766. Akkiia	T	578
725. Takuiia s. [juĥĥe	1 or eT*	564/87a	767. Taĥirišti	e or mT	456/270
726. Tarmiiia s. Unap-tae	mT	176/510	768. Uthaja s. Eĥli-tešup	Ta	10
727. Seal impression of Zuia			769. Ħašip-tilla s. Kipaiia	m or 1E	621/1009
	m or IT	160/601	770. Katiri s. Ħašiiia	e or mT	512
728. Ziwir-kintar	E	378/607	771. Wardu-kēnu s. Ukin-zaĥ	IT	52/872

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
772. Kai-tešup s. Šati-kintar	Ta*	478/908	816. Šilwaia s. Pur-šurutta	E*	644/857
773. Kerar-tilla s. Enna-mati	lTa	532	817. Šilwa-tešup s. Birk-ilišu	Ta	322/207
774. Naniia s. Kip-ukur	Ta	151/192	818. Akip-tašenni s. Akip-šarri	Ta	472/11
775. No name indicated		1167	819. Erwi-ḫuta	lE or Ta	78/204
776. Name broken		1168	820. Kipa-urḫe s. Ḫūpita	lE or Ta	78/204
777. Ithišta s. Ar-tae	mT	46/593	821. Kerar-tilla s. Enna-mati	lTa	296/206
777a. Teḫip-apu s. Nihriia	Ta	310/20	822. Ipša-ḫalu s. Šennaia	Ta	182/14
778. []ia	E	625/122	823. Record not available		
779. Eḫli-tešup s. Teḫip-tilla	mE	520/364	824. Ḫutip-apu	lE or Ta*	135/50
780. Šamaš-ūrāšu	E	619/182	825. Naniia s. Kip-ukur	Ta	108/27
781. Name broken	Louvre A689	1089	826. Name not indicated		794
782. Name broken		1076	827. Iriri	mTa	1028
783. []-tešup	mTa	199	828. Enna-mati s. Kušši-ḫarpe	Ta*	322/207
784. Ḫuia	E	355/465	829. Tupki-tilla, judge of Purulli		
785. Sin-nādin-šumi	lT	307/618		lE or Ta*	125/74
786. Šukriia s. Sin-napšir	m or lT*	428/245	830. Teḫip-apu s. En[]	eE	533
787. Zike s. Eḫli-tešup	Ta*	636/115	831. Name broken	m or lE*	661/1031
788. Name broken		1139	832. Zil-tešup s. Pal-tešup		316/852
789. Name broken	lTa	433/111	833. Akaia	mTa	117/726
790. Turari s. Puḫiia	Ta	538/194	834. Kipali s. Tišpak-il	Ta	403/22
791. Taia s. Apil-sin	E or mT	282/105	835. Turar-tešup s. Akip-tašenni		
792. Artašenni s. Apil-sin	E	539		lTa	115/701
793. Tarmi-tešup s. Eḫli-tešup	T	176/510	835a. Name broken		1162
794. Ḫutip-tešup s. Šeršiiia	mT	360/483	836. Ili-ma-aḫi	Ta*	924
795. Name not indicated		1114	837. Uṭḫap-tae s. Akip-tašenni	Ta	103/193
796. Akip-tašenni s. Ḫui-tilla	Ta*	636/115	838. Teḫip-tilla s. Kaniia	eTa	116/707
797. Šukr-apu s. Šerpa-tašši	Ta	399/222	839. Kakkīšu s. Unaia	eTa	102/205
798. Kerar-tilla s. Enna-mati	Ta	199	840. Ḫanakka s. Tatuni		1162
799. Name broken		1159	841. Ipša-ḫalu	lT	402/126
800. Šaḫlu-tešup or Ayaš-šura	lT	631/718	842. Ḫui-tilla s. Šeršiiia	lT or eE*	119/170
801. Šeršiiia s. Šukriia	eE	610/228	843. Name broken		1050
802. Irup-tešup s. Zikaia	lT or eE	602	844. Tarmiia s. Keliia	Ta	451/631
803. Puḫi-šenni s. Alkiia	m or lE	661/1031	845. Name broken		1114
804. Kibi-tilla s. Šukr-apu	Ta (?)	797	846. Tuḫaia	lE or Ta*	512/48
805. Ariia	m or lE	661/1031	847. Turar-tešup s. Ith-apiḫe	eTa	549/150
806. Sin-pilaḫ s. Šumi-šenni			848. Šini[]	Ta	599/274a
	E or Ta*	219/147	849. Aḫu-šeia s. Wantiia		
807. Iriri-tilla s. Šešwe	m or lT	123/881		e or mTa*	671/1024
808. Nihriia s. Akap-tukke	lE	324/266	850. Elḫip-šarri s. Šeršiiia	lE or Ta*	29/45
809. Uṭḫap-tae s. Zike	lE	324/266	851. Šimānni-adad s.		
810. Muš-teia	Ta*	494/197	AK. DINGIR. RA	lTa	296/206
811. Wantar-kintar	eTa*	620	852. Unap-tešup s. Teḫeš-šenni	lTa	296/206
812. Zilipuia s. Zikiru	Ta	116/707	853. Ḫašip-tešup s. Šaḫlu-tešup	Ta*	974
813. Name not indicated	Ta	1034	854. Enna-mati s. Našwi	Ta	151/192
814. Name broken		1112	855. Kai-tešup	mTa	629/773
815. Name broken		1162	856. Ḫaniu	Ta	345/232

JEN/JENu			JEN/JENu		
857. Tarmik-kutu s. Purusa	eE	659/841	900. Katiri s. Hašija	m or lT	140/745
858. Hašip-tilla s. Kapazzi	mTa	85/724	901. Ith-apu		580
859. Zikaia s. En[]	lTa	296/206	902. Haīrānu s. Unaiā	lTa	103/193
860. Name not indicated	lE or Ta	191	903. Itti-enlil s. Patta	E	378/607
861. Tarmi-tešup	lE or Ta	354	904. Tarmi-tešup s. Itti-šarri		
862. Name broken		1089		lE or eTa	78/204
863. Akap-tukke s. Šennaia	lTa	492/203	905. Name broken		1101
864. Partasua	E	177/209	906. Hanaia	E or later	470/369
865. Hašip-apu	lE or Ta*	512/48	907. Niḥriia s. Ir-šubḥe	lTa	294/216
866. Uta-andul s. Hamanna	Ta	538/194	908. Hamanna s. Nai-tešup	Ta	386/114
867. Aštar-tešup s. Iriri-tilla	Ta*	179/208	909. Hulukka s. Zinnaia	m or lE	350
868. Unaiā s. Ariḥ-hamanna	Ta	547/201	910. Name broken	mT	88
869. Purusa	eE	361/326	911. Ilu-bāni s. Dan-ili		855
870. Ninu-atal s. Šurki-tilla	Ta	147/124	912. Mat-tešup s. Ith-apu	eE	768
871. Turar-tešup	e or mT	119	913. Aḥu-waqar s. Šalilua (?)		88/815
872. Name broken	mTa	797	914. Tanni-muša Inb-ilišu	eT	341/504
873. Name broken		1150	915. Name broken	eTa	164
874. Awilu-s. 4AK. DINGIR. RA			916. Name broken		1101
	mTa	105/515	917. Muš-tesup s. Hašija	T	77/955
875. Name broken		332	918. Iškur-andul s. Zinija	m or lT	265/579
876. Šešerpa s. Ith-apu		818	919. Arn-urḥe	mT	230/748
877. Kartija	lE or Ta*	666/848	920. Name broken	lT	255
878. Gimill-abi s. Kuš-kipa		396/1064	921. Šeriš-atal s. Kirip-tilla		
878a. Tai-tilla s. En-šukru	lTa	115/701		lT or eE*	119/170
879. Uate s. Birija-atti	Ta*	111/169	922. Katiri s. Hašija	mT	239/456
880. Eḥli-tešup s. Kinkia	Ta	547/201	923. Sin-nādin-šumi s. Taia		
881. Pilmašše s. Punne	Ta*	537/5		m or lT	471/217
882. Šatam-mušni s. Unaiā	lTa	103/193	924. Tarmija s. Unap-tae	mT	178/278
883. Šešerpa s. Ith-apu	Ta	797	925. Umpia s. Teššua	m or lT	259/505
884. Akip-senni s. Ithišta	Ta	542/18	926. Ipša-ḥalu	E or later	42
885. Hutip-apu s. Tarmi-tilla	Ta*	321/191	927. Zil-tešup s. Waqar-bēli		
886. Name broken		1119		E or Ta*	340/213
887. Pai-tilla s. Hutija		45	928. Zilip-tilla s. Warat-teja	lE	101/502
888. DU. SAG. KI s. Šud-tešup	lTa	294/216	929. Ithip-senni s. Gimill-adad	eTa*	315/909
889. Name broken		1168	930. Naltukka s. Unaiā	m or lT	10/641
890. Name not indicated		1083	931. Zike s. Enna-mati	m or lE	559/484
891. Eḥli-tešup s. Kel-teia	Ta*	636/115	931a. Hapi-ašu s. Erwi-atal	lT	86/498
892. Puḥi-senni s. Zike	lTa	608/547	932. Šaten-šuh	eT	446/942
893. Name broken		791	932a. Teḥip-tilla s. Hašija	Ta	37/382
894. Mannu-uballiṭ (?)	mTa	606/774	932b. Šešerpa	Ta*	772/124
895. Taia s. Apil-sin	mT	56/765	933. Tauka s. Zikura	m or lE	92
896. Ariḥ-hamanna s. Hatarte		64/966	934. Hatarte	eT	576/950
897. Milkia	mTa*	345/232	935. Akkuia s. Ukur-atal	eT	576/950
898. La-qēpu	m or lE	304/507	936. Ataja s. Wanti-muša	e or mT	15/241
898a. Seal of Unaiā s. Tulpia	lT	379/373	937. Paia s. Pui-tae	mT	555
899. Name broken		1066	938. Name illegible	eT	205/381

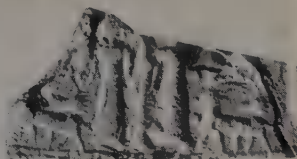
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939. Kelip-šarri s. Eni-š-tae	eTa*	604/849	977. Alippiia s. Kizzi-ḫarpa	m or IT	286/352
940. Urḫiia s. Šekaru	IT	224/961	978. Arik-kamari	eT	464/420
941. Balṭu-kašid s. Apil-sin	mT	75/202	979. Tarmiia s. Enna-mati	eT	90/965
942. Name not indicated		633	980. Wirraḫḫe s. Ḫaniū	IT	285
943. Name broken		1168	981. Name broken	T	357/102
944. Name broken		1118	982. Ḫintiia s. Teḫiia	eT	8/586
945. Partasua mār šarri	eT	409/394	983. Ḫanakka s. Šekaru	mT	467/139
946. Kip-erḫan s. Ar-tunni	mT	582/1008	984. Šakarakti s. Ar-tirwi	eT	613/919
947. Taia	mT	493/35	984a. Pui-tae	m or IT*	471/217
948. Turari s. Wantiia	eT (?)	413/56	985. I ar[]	m or IT	996
949. Watip-šarri	E	177/209	986. Mālik-nāšir s. Abu-ṭābu	eT	642/845
950. Šekar-tilla s. Wanti-muša	m or IE	635/888	987. Name broken		1076
951. Name broken		1120	988. Iṭḫišta s. Ar-tae	eT	437/261
952. []rari	E	656/966a	989. Tulpi-senni s. Eḫlip-šarri	eT	437/261
953. Arik-kamari s. Akap-še	Ta	331/907	990. Bel-aḫḫe s. Teḫip-tilla	m or IT	123/881
954. Tur-senni s. Enna-mati	eTa	164	991. Balṭu-kašid s. Apil-sin	eT	244/395
955. Balṭu-kašid	mT	250/429	992. Balṭu-kašid s. Apil-sin	e or mT	439/331
956. Ila-ni-šū	eE	687	993. Ar-tirwi s. Paia	T	963
957. Ḫapi-ašu s. Ataia	eT	235/407	994. Šati-kintar s. Turi-Kintar	eT	90/965
958. Enna-mati s. Ennaia	IT	916	995. Balṭu-kašid	eT	396
959. Teššuiia s. Zilli-marta	E or Ta*	181/145	996. Ward-ilišu s. Dūr-šarri	T	449/871
960. Akip-tilla s. Ḫintiia	E	383/83	997. Ḫamanna s. Kaia	e or mT	343/138
961. Mat-tešup s. Teššuiia	mT	417/52	998. Ḫašiiia s. Kirziia	eT	24/493
962. Akip-tilla s. Turari	mT	54/763	999. Šennape s. Ḫuiia	ITa	370/676
963. Urḫiia s. Šekaru	IT	40/441	1000. Ḫut-arrapḫe s. Ar-tešše	E	625/122
964. [] s. Be[]	IE or Takku	354	1001. Akiiia s. Tiriku	IE	130/416
965. Niḫriia s. Ekuia	e or mT	36/388	1002. Name broken	m or IT	421
966. Tarmi-tešup s. Ar-teia	mT	425/992	1003. Pata-tašši s. Kurišni	eT	596
967. Palaia s. Aššur-āmiri	T	500/272	1004. Ili-ma-aḫi s. Ḫanannaia	m or IT	206/481
968. Ward-ilišu s. Dūr-šarru	mT	762	1005. Ḫaiš-tešup from city Ḫawurni	IT*	671
969. Lišmi-šerša s. Lidān-abi (?)	eT	396	1006. Paia s. Pui-tae	T	368/767
970. Teḫup-senni s. Piru	IT	448/540	1007. Kari-šuḫ s. Ar-tešše	T	319
971. Wirraḫḫe s. Ḫaniū	mT	100/455	1008. Aril-lumti s. Ḫaiš-tešup	E	575/864
972. Kelija	mT	545/749	1009. Atanaḫ s. Al-tešup	m or IE	350
973. Mušēzib-šamaš s. Eḫli-tešup	ITa	61/214	1010. Ḫa[]		671
974. Umpiia s. Ḫaiš-tešup	mE	520/364	1011. Akap-senni s. Šukriia	E or later	470/369
975. Ar-tešup s. Šukr-apu	E	329/787			
976. Niḫri-tilla s. Arrumpa	mT	467/139			



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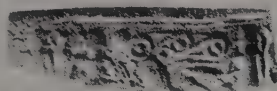
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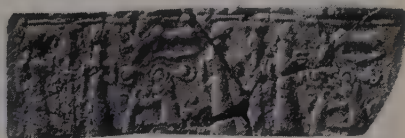
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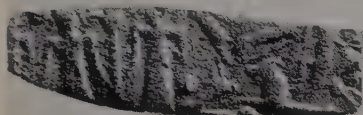
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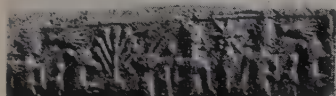
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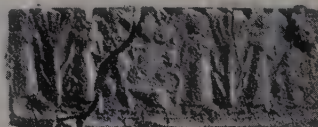
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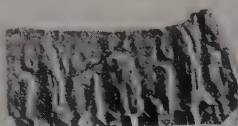
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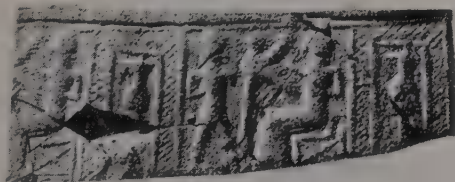
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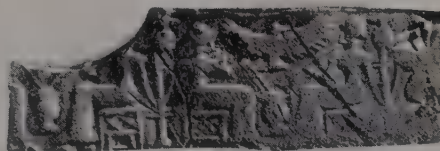
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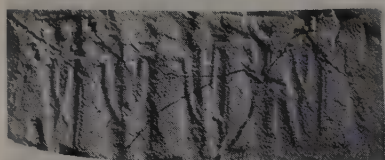
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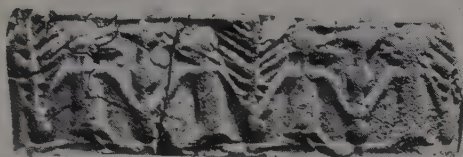
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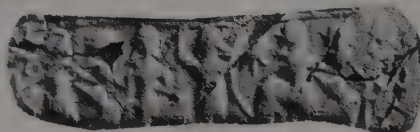
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21 A



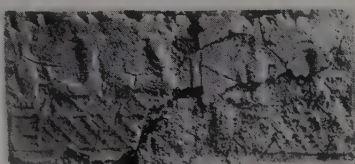
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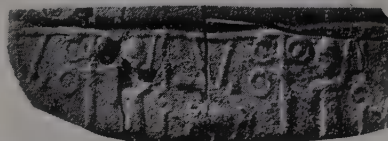
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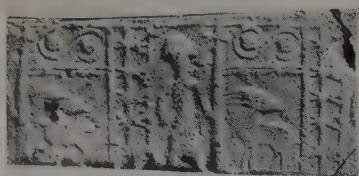
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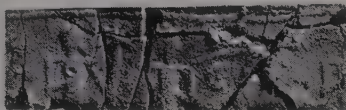
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36



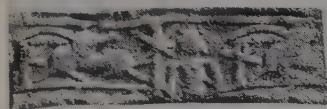
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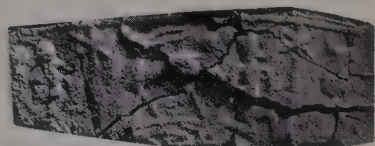
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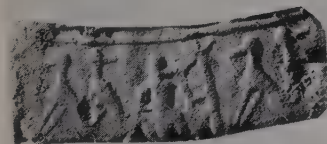
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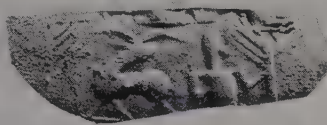
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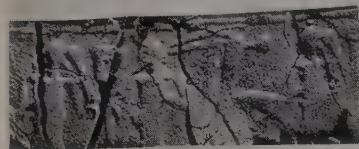
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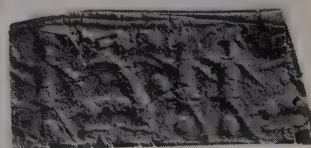
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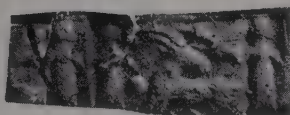
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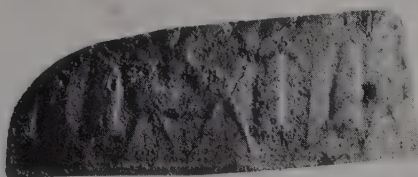
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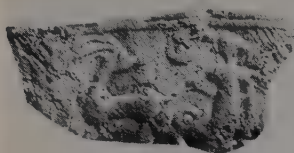
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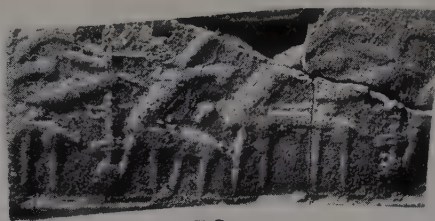
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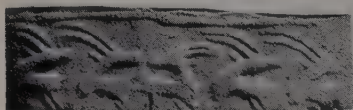
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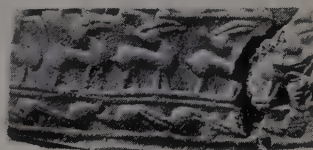
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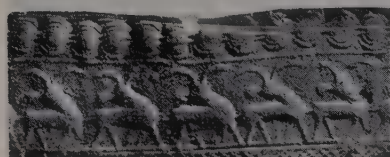
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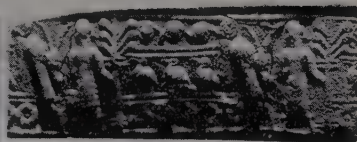
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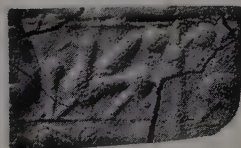
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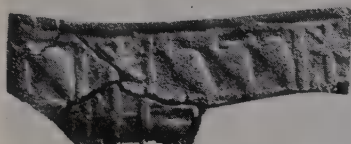
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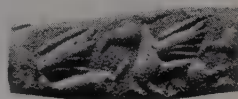
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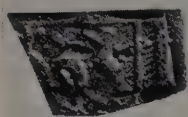
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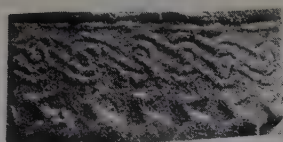
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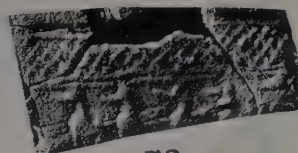
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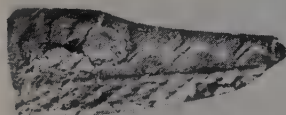
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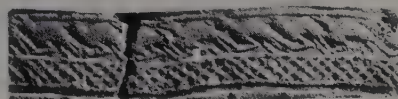
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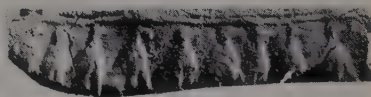
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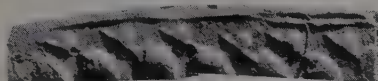
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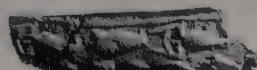
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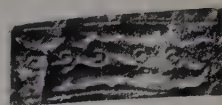
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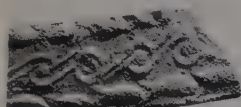
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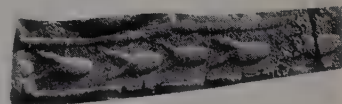
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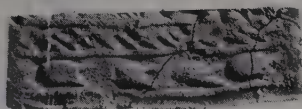
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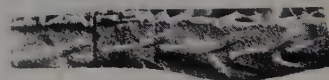
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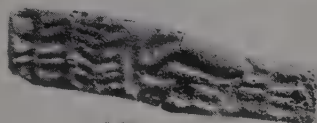
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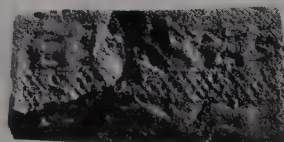
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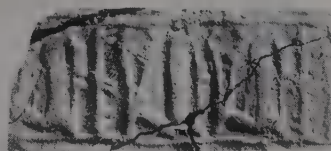
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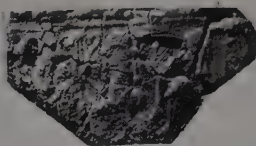
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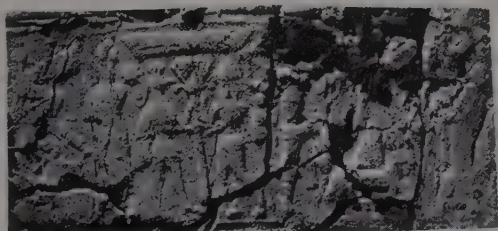
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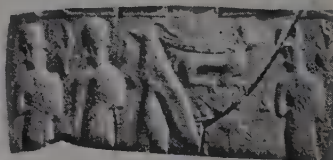
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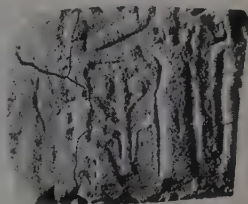
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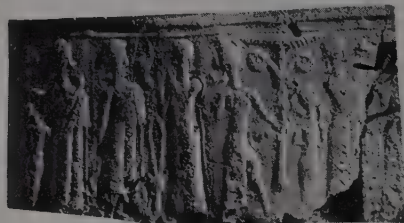
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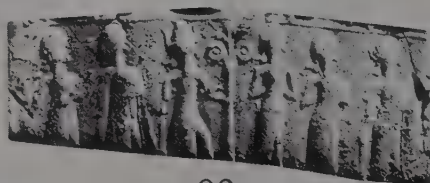
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100



101



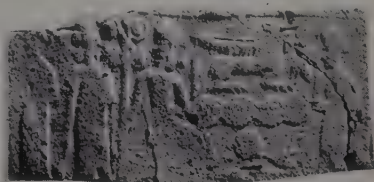
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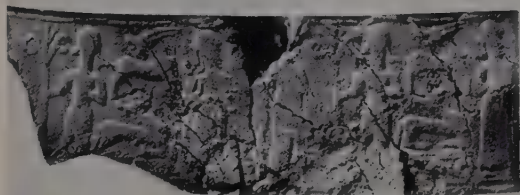
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104



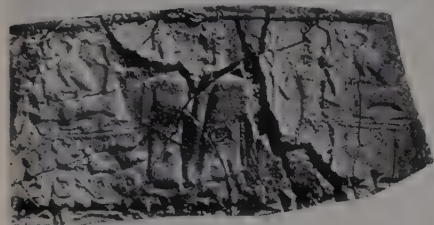
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106



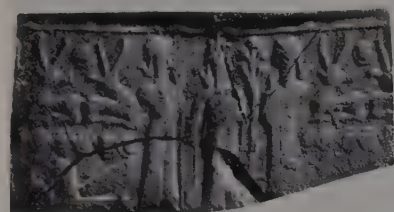
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108



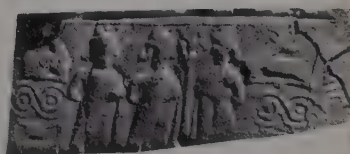
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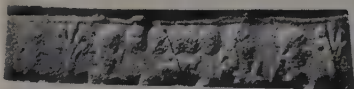
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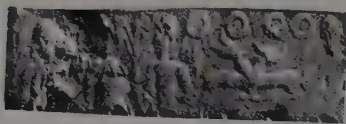
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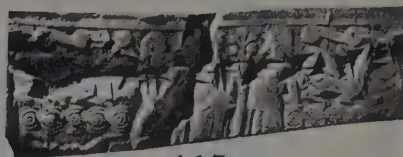
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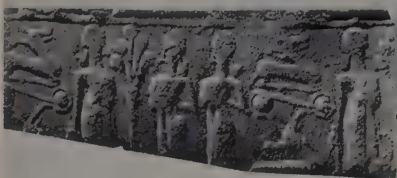
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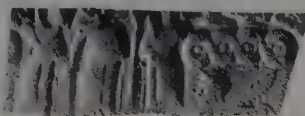
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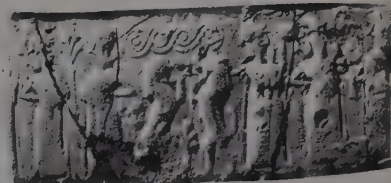
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117



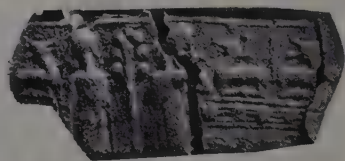
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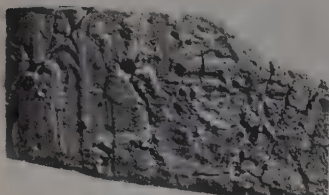
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120



121



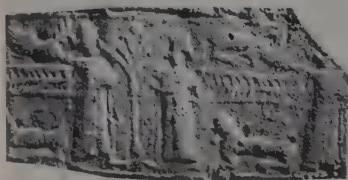
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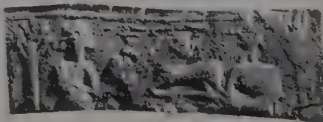
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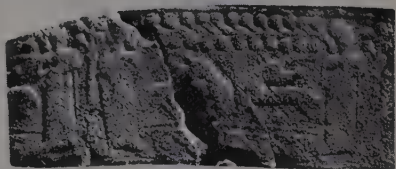
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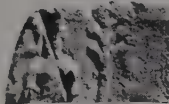
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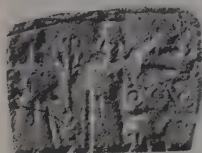
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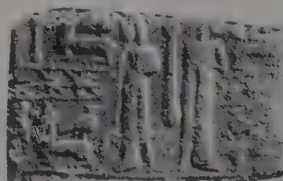
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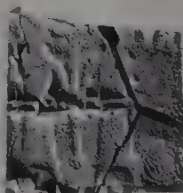
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129



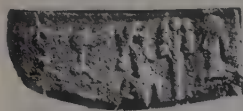
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131



132



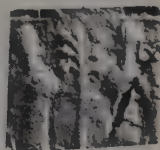
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134



135



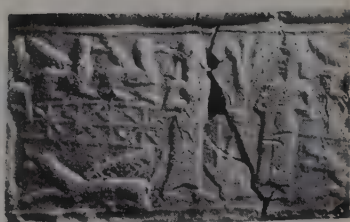
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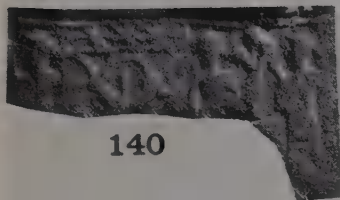
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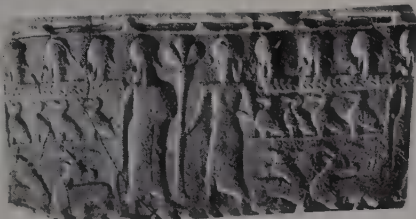
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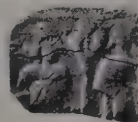
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143



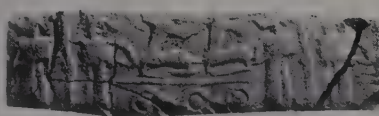
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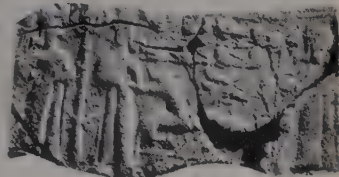
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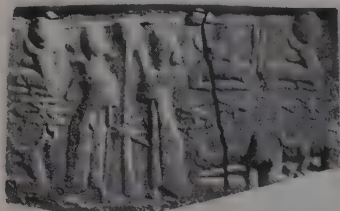
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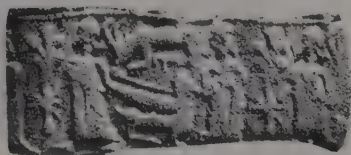
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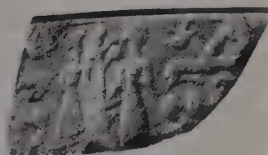
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149



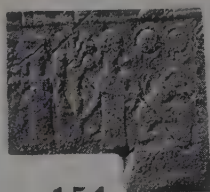
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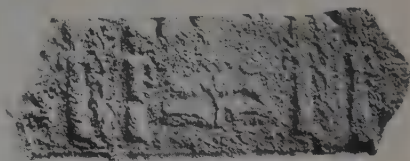
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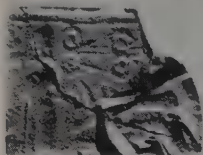
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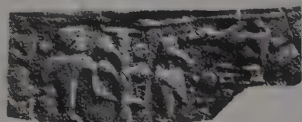
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157



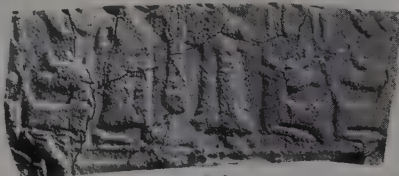
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159



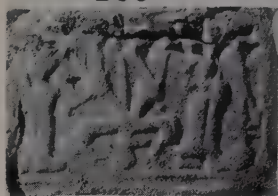
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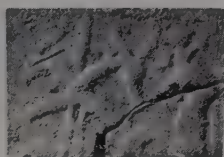
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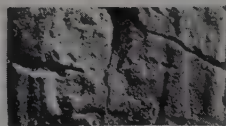
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163



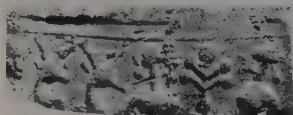
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165



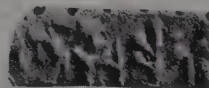
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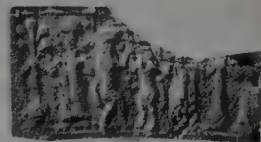
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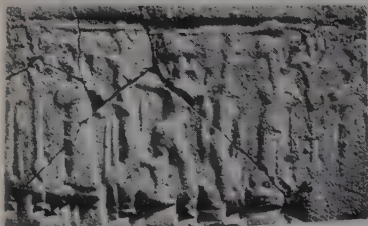
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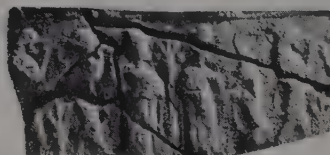
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171



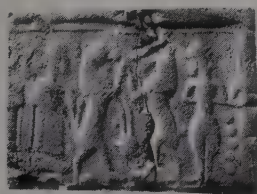
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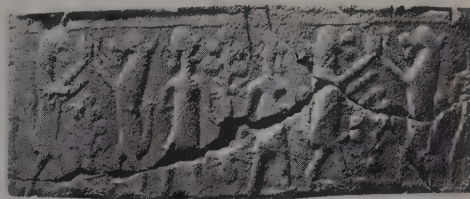
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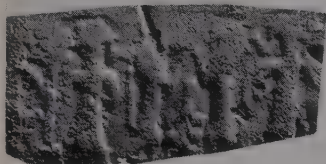
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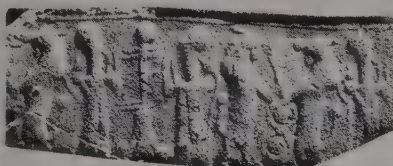
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176



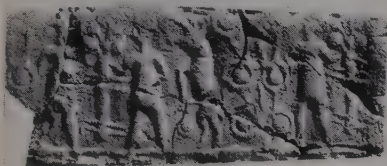
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179



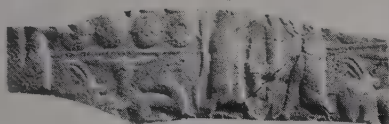
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181



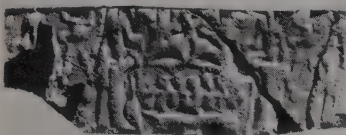
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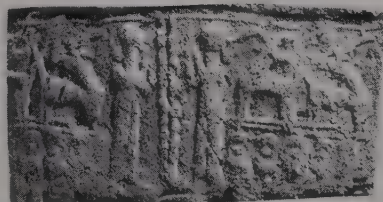
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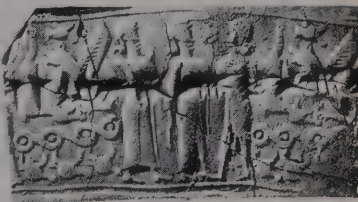
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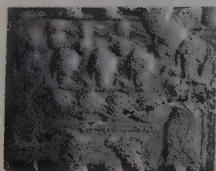
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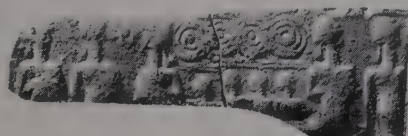
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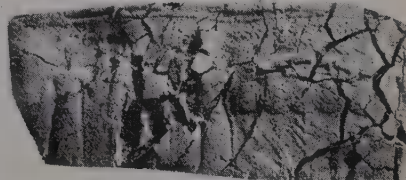
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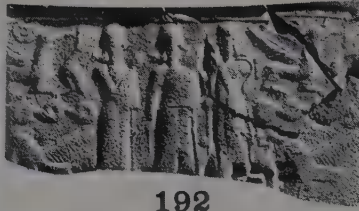
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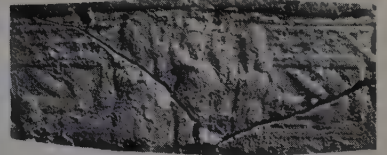
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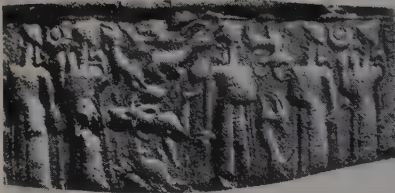
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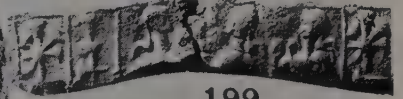
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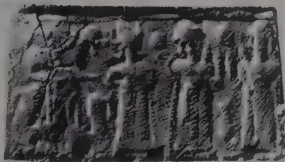
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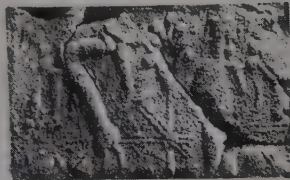
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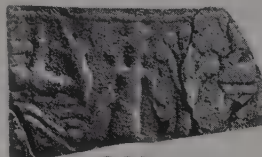
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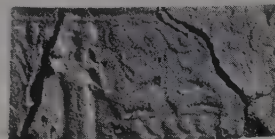
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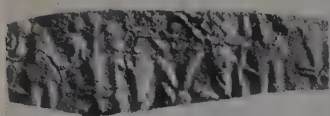
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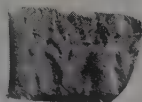
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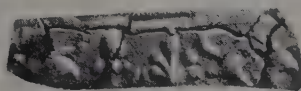
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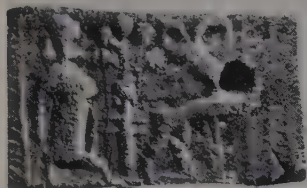
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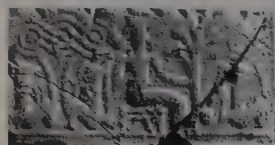
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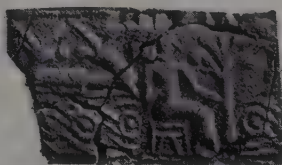
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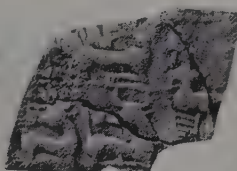
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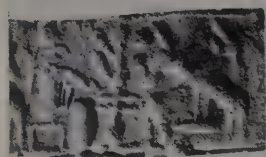
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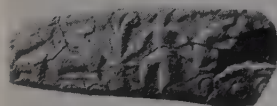
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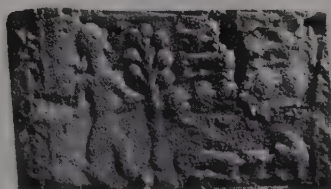
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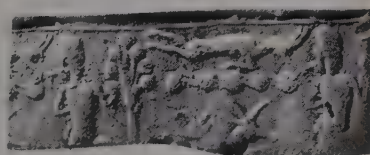
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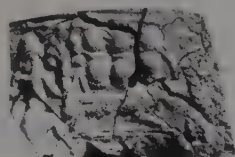
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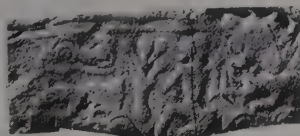
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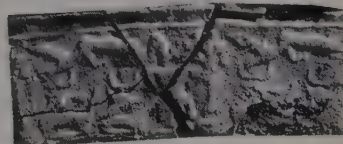
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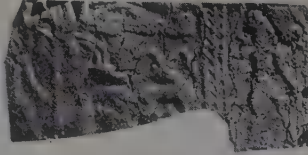
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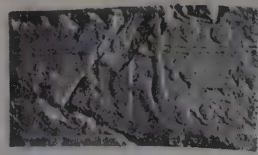
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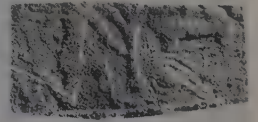
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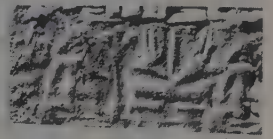
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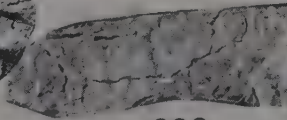
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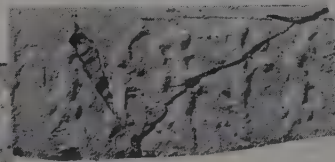
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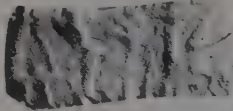
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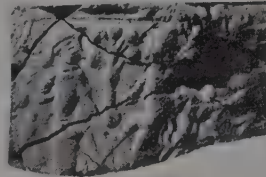
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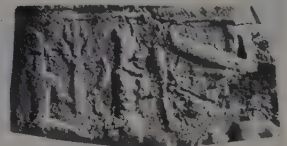
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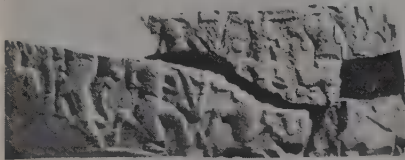
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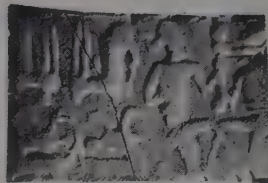
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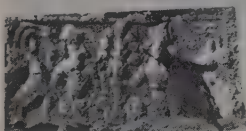
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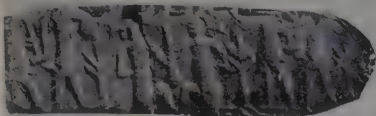
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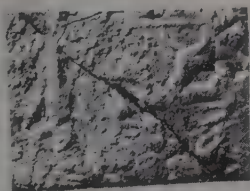
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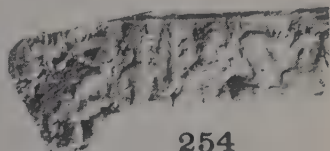
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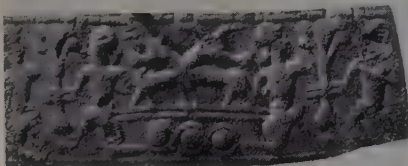
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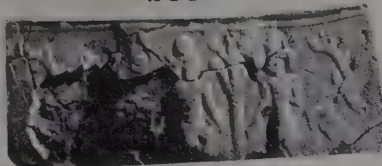
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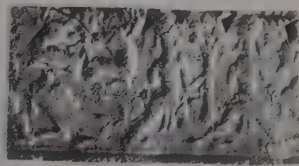
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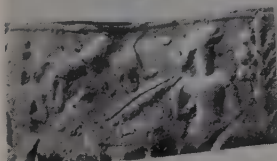
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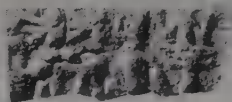
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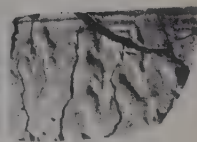
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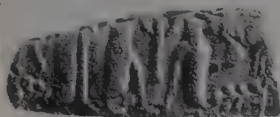
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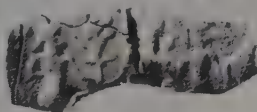
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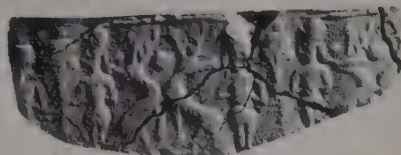
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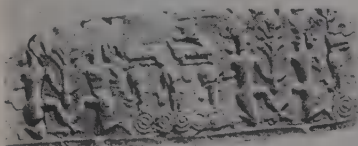
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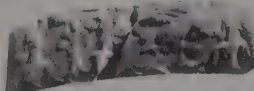
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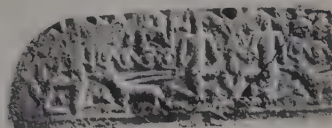
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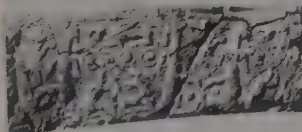
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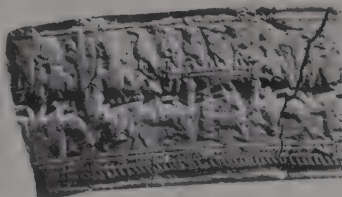
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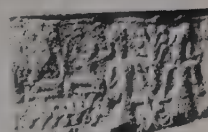
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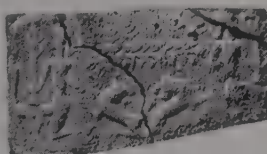
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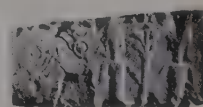
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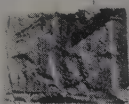
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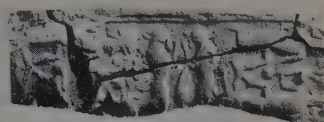
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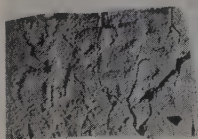
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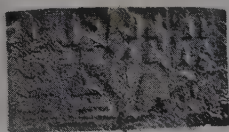
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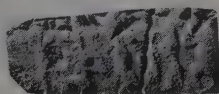
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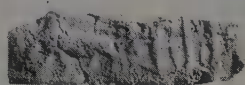
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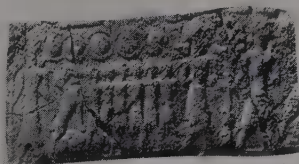
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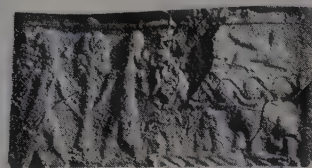
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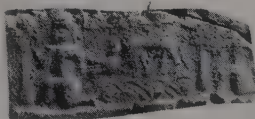
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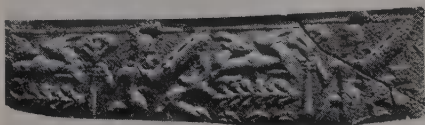
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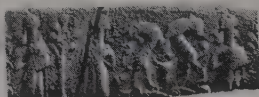
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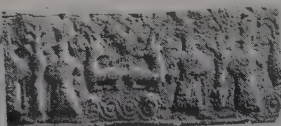
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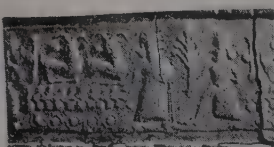
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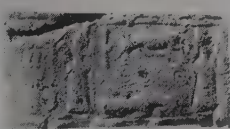
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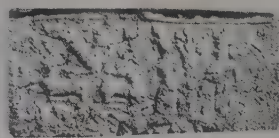
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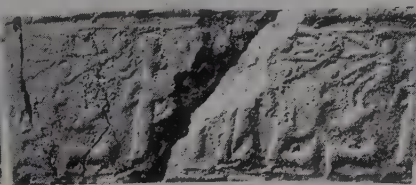
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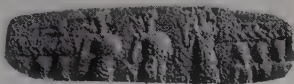
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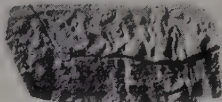
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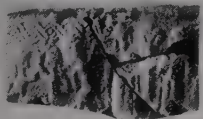
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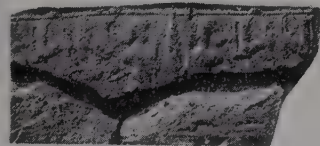
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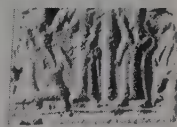
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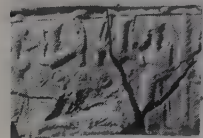
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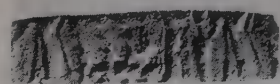
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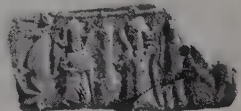
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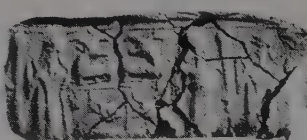
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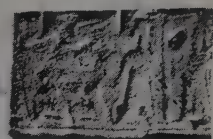
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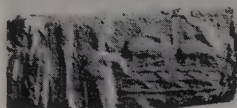
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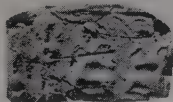
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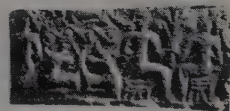
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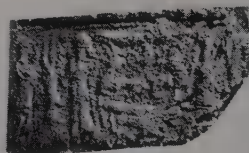
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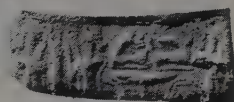
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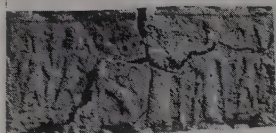
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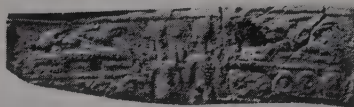
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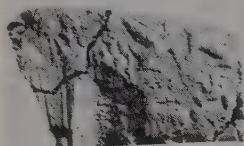
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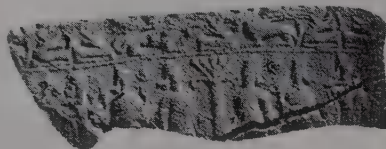
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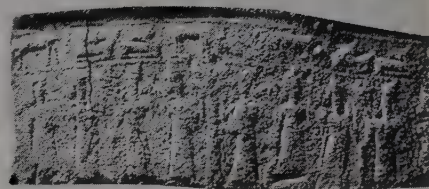
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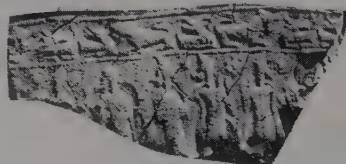
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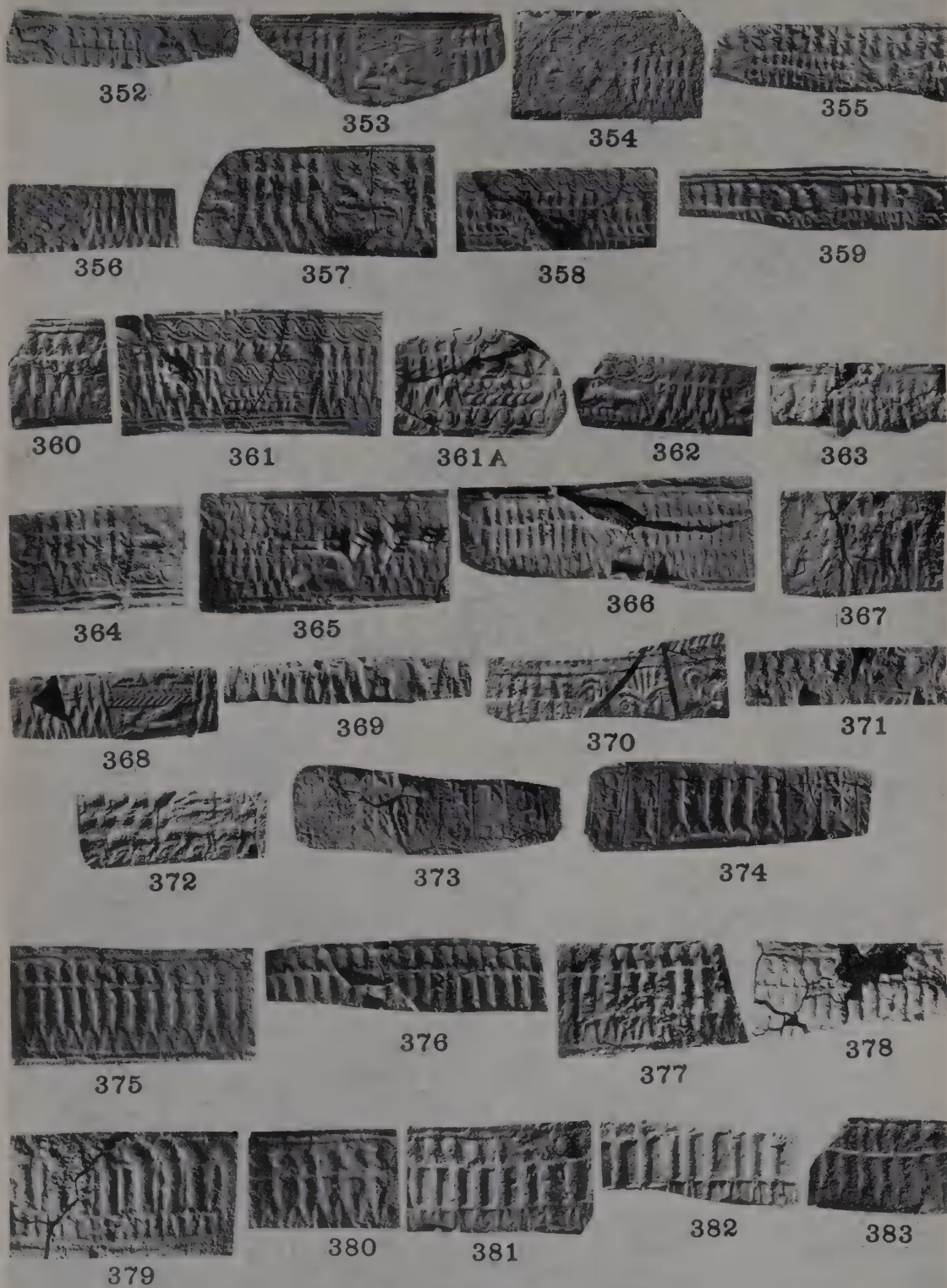
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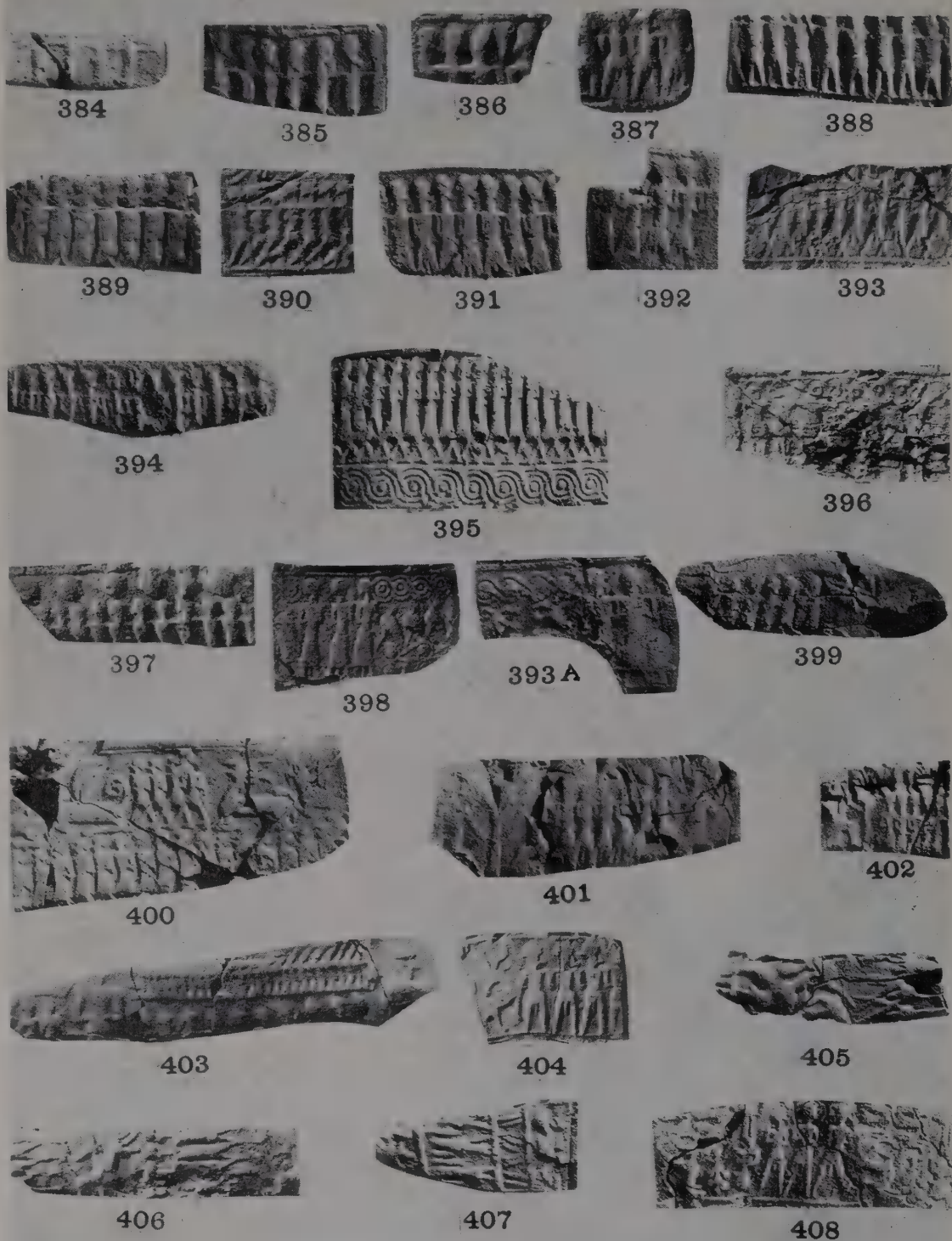


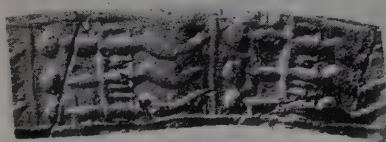
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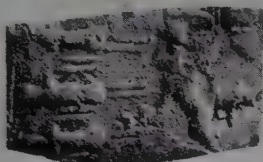
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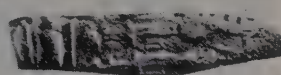




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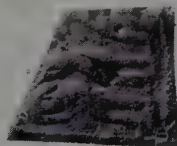
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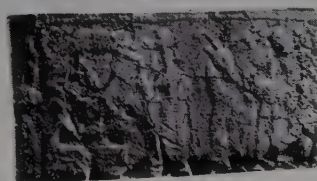
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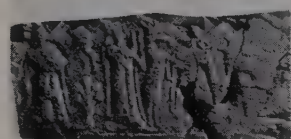
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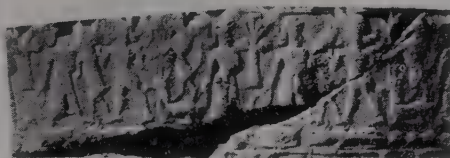
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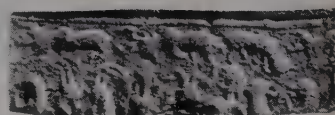
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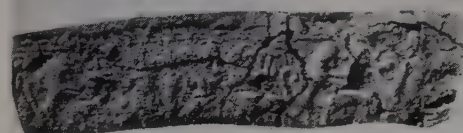
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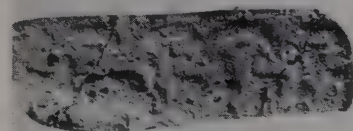
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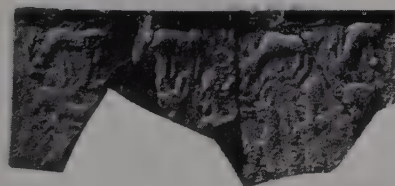
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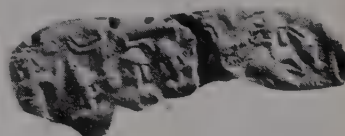
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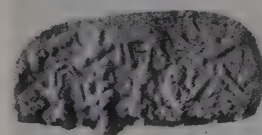
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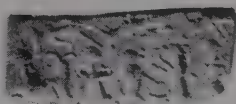
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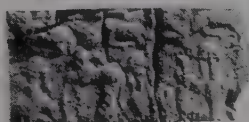
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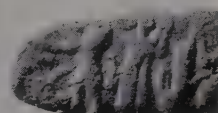
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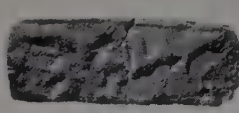
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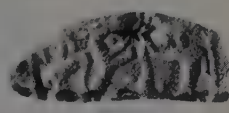
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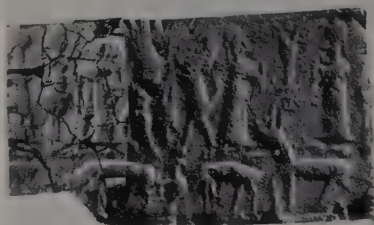
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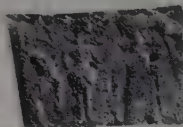
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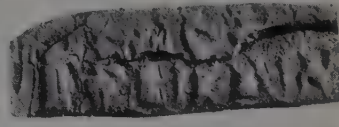
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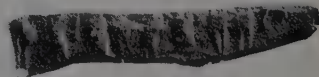
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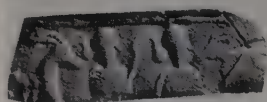
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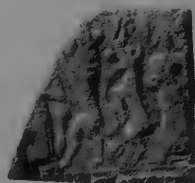
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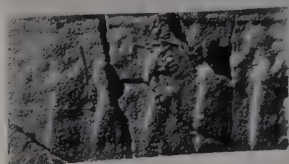
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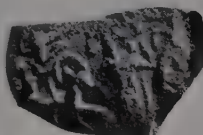
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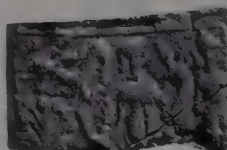
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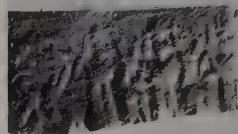
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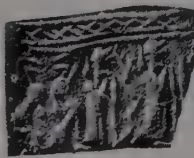
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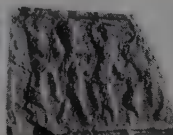
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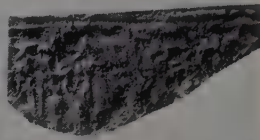
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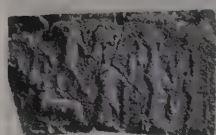
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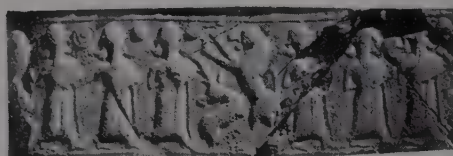
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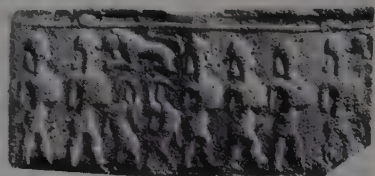
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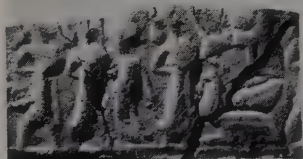
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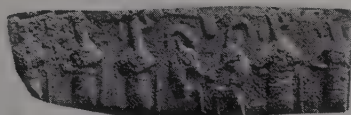
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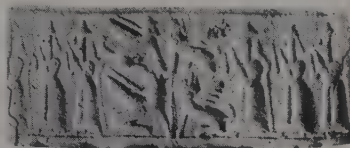
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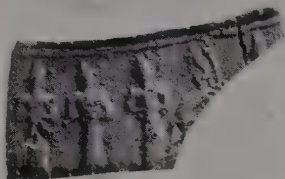
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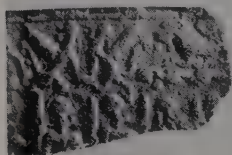
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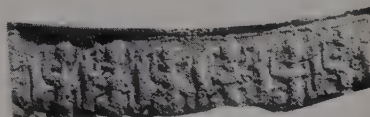
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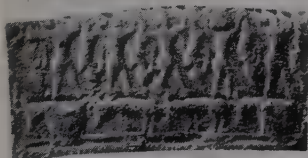
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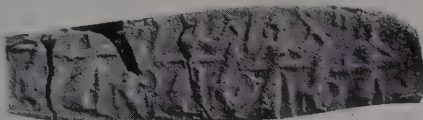
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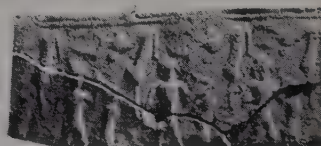
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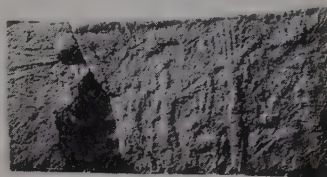
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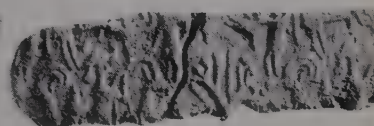
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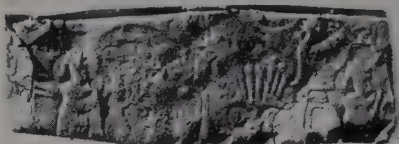
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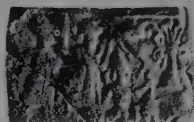
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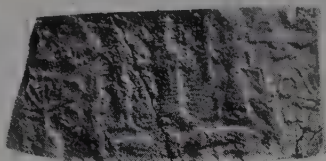
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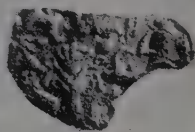
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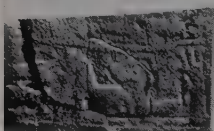
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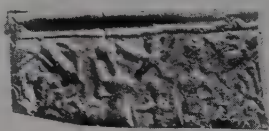
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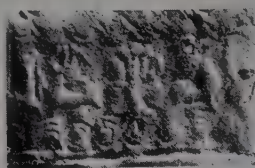
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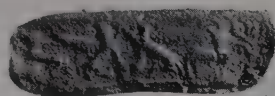
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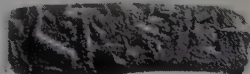
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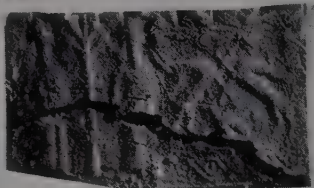
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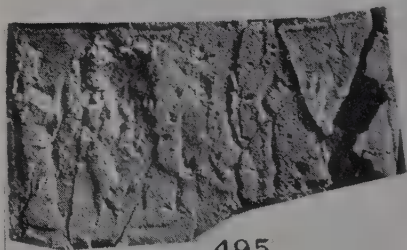
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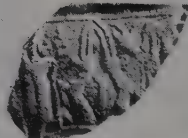
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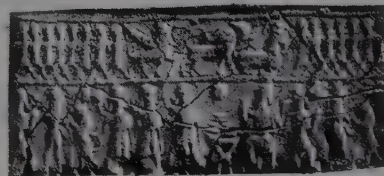
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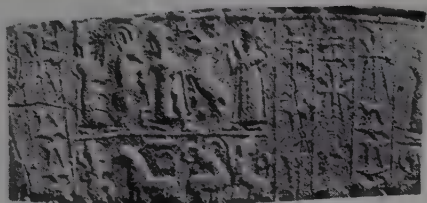
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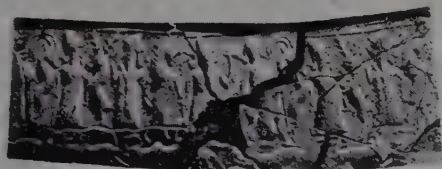
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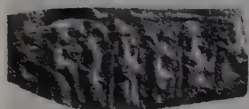
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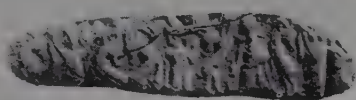
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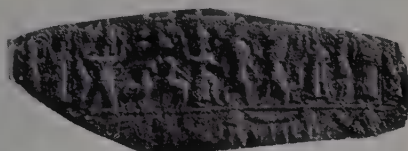
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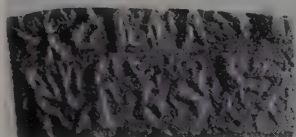
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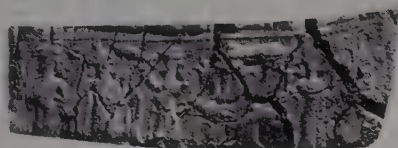
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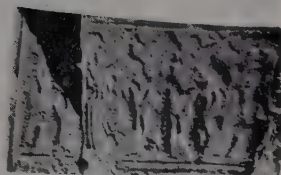
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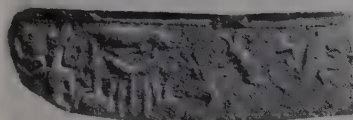
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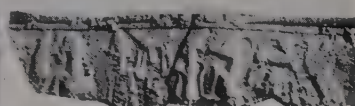
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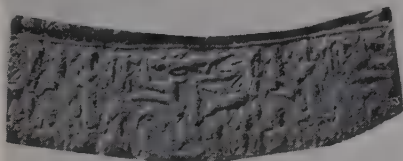
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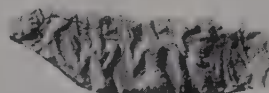
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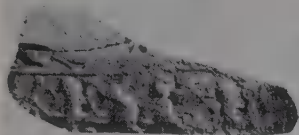
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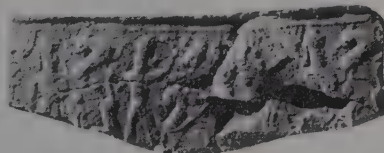
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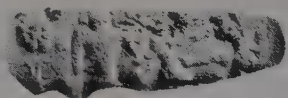
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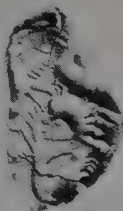
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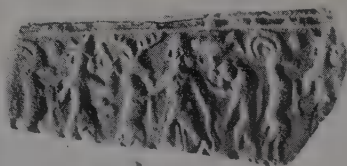
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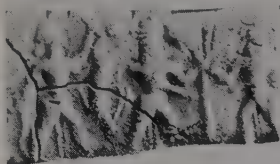
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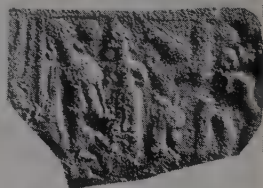
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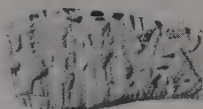
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521



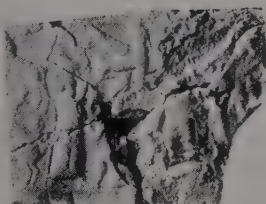
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524



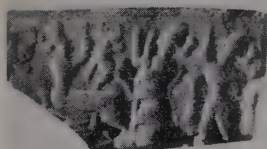
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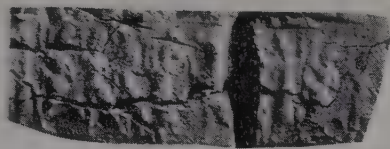
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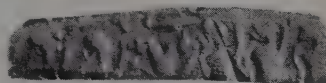
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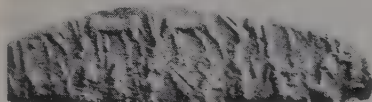
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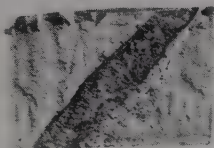
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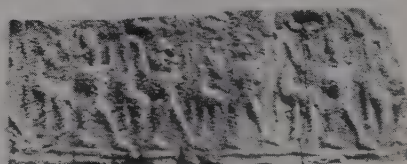
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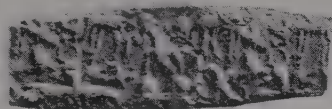
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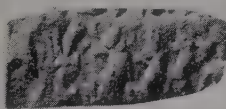
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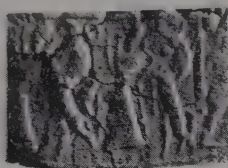
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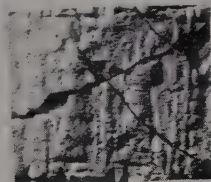
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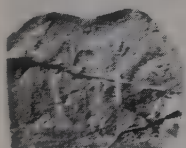
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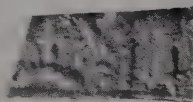
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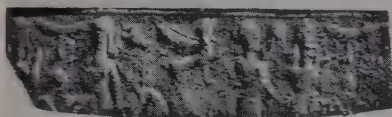
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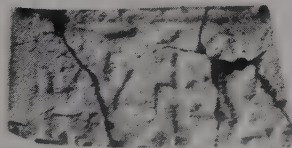
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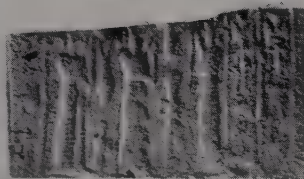
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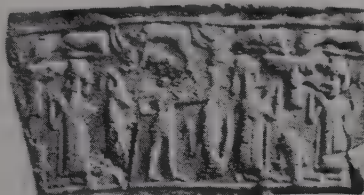
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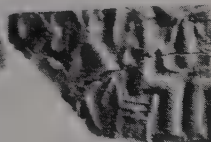
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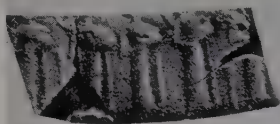
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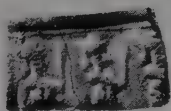
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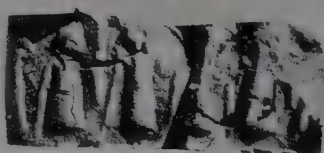
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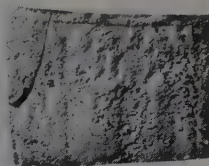
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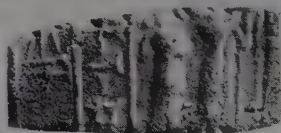
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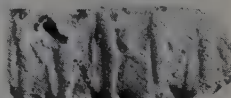
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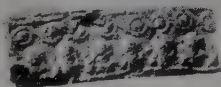
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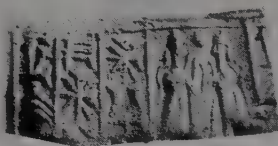
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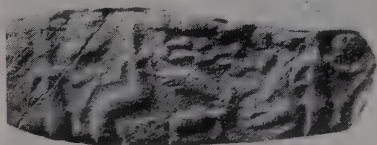
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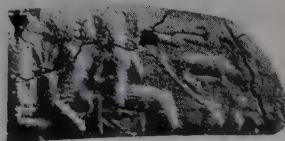
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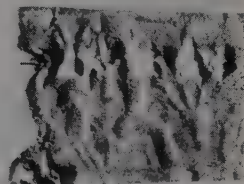
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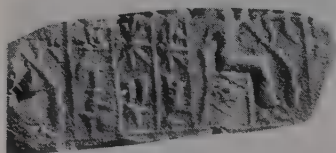
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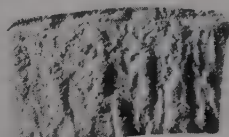
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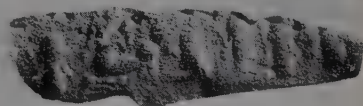
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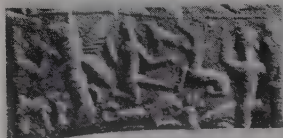
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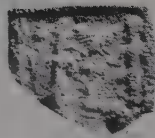
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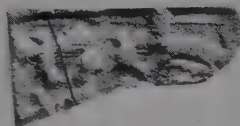
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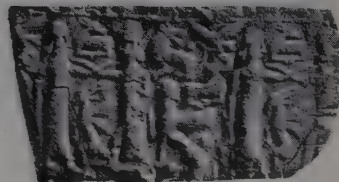
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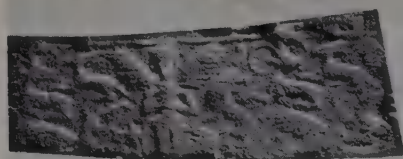
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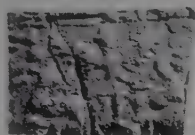
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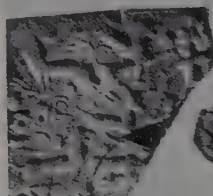
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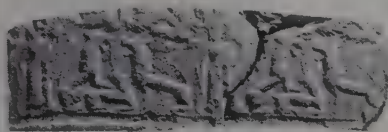
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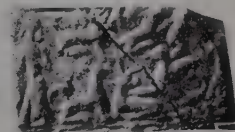
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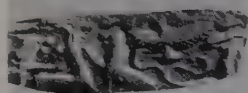
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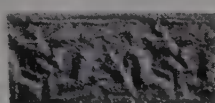
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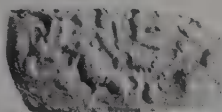
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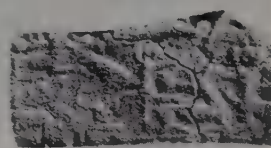
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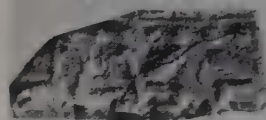
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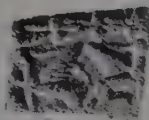
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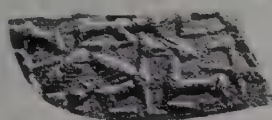
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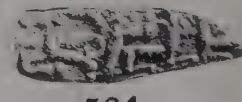
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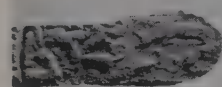
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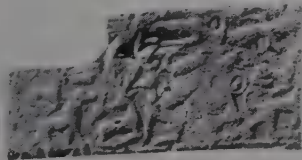
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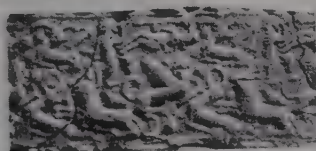
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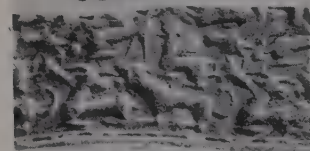
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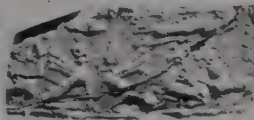
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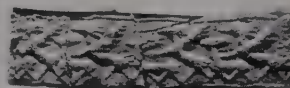
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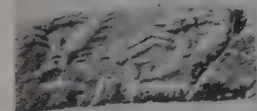
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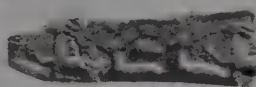
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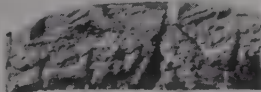
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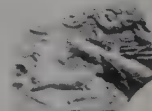
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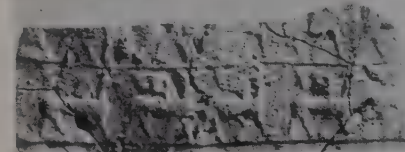
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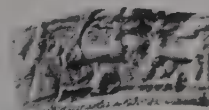
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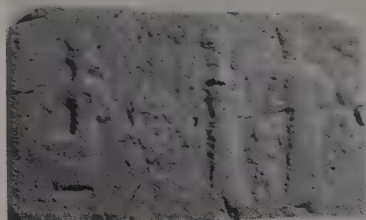
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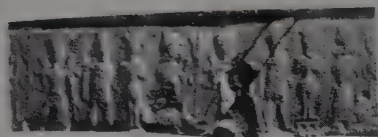
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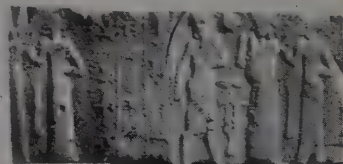
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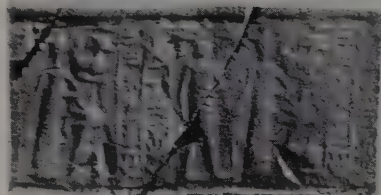
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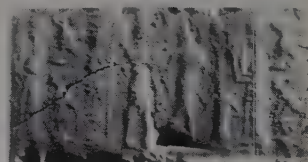
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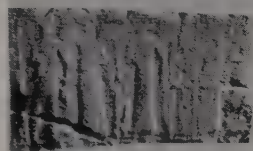
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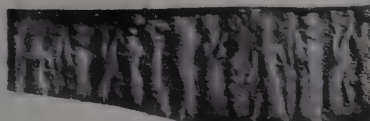
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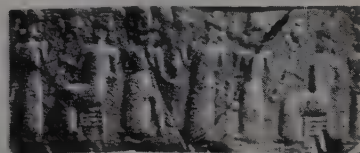
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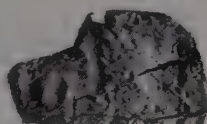
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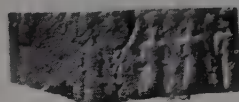
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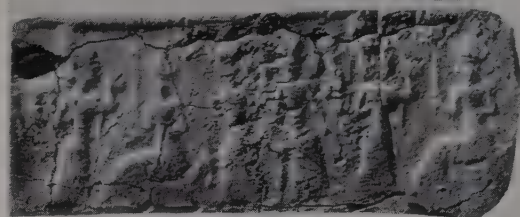
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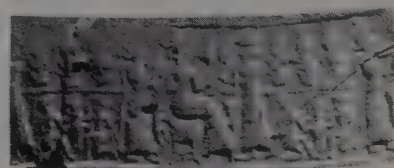
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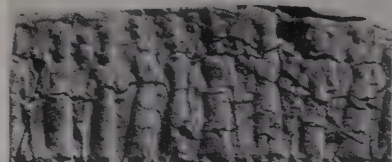
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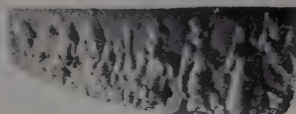
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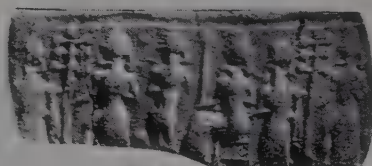
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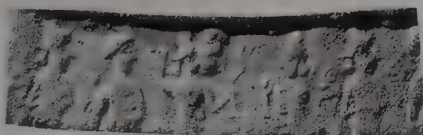
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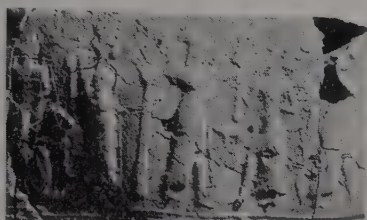
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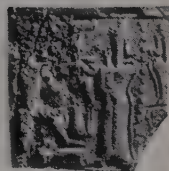
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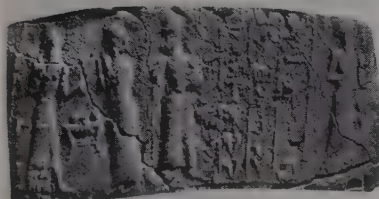
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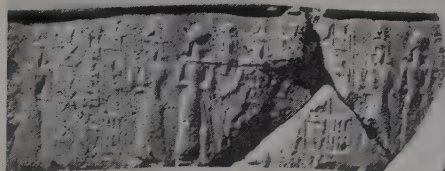
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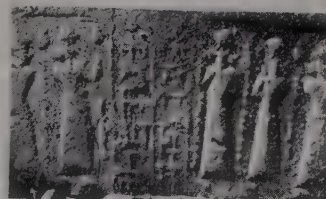
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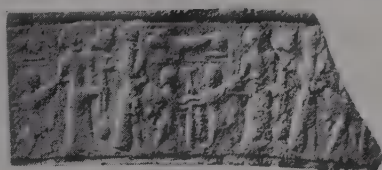
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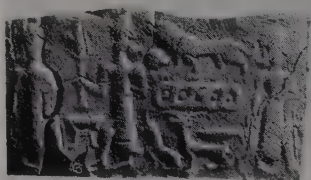
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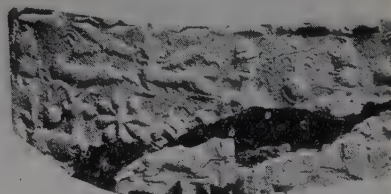
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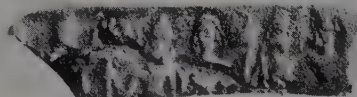
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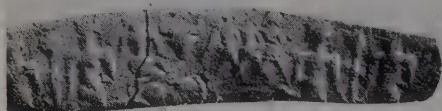
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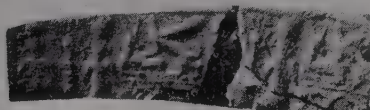
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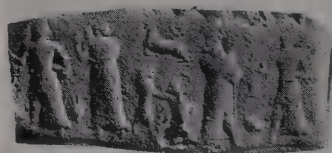
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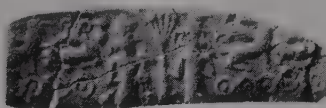
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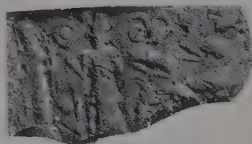
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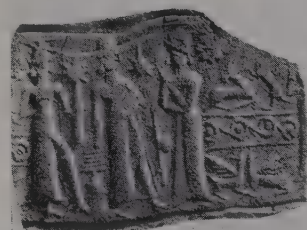
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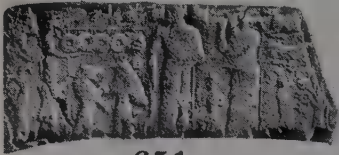
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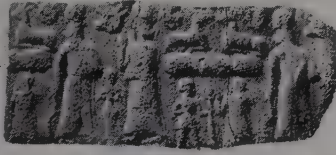
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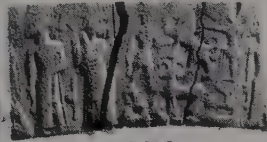
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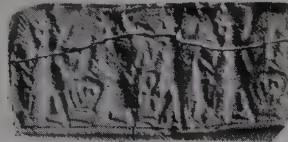
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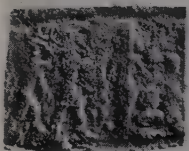
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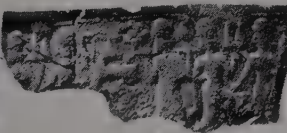
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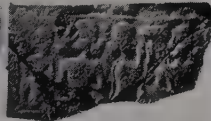
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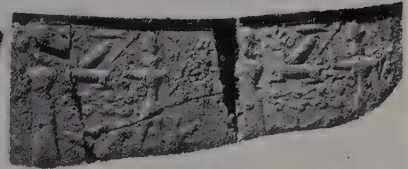
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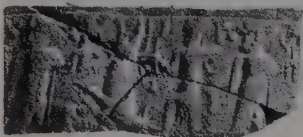
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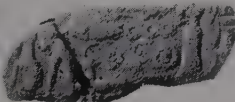
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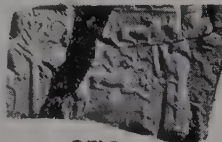
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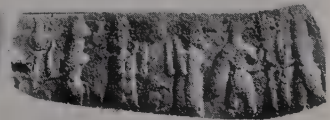
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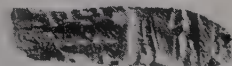
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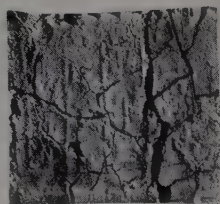
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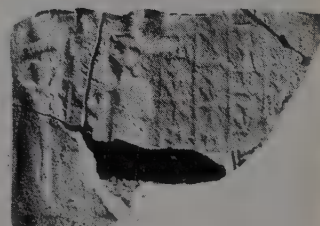
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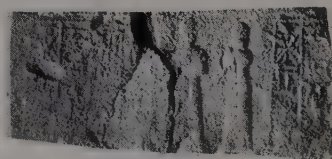
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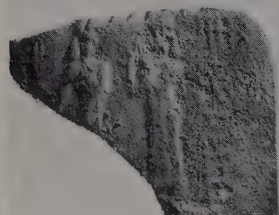
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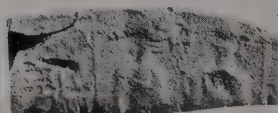
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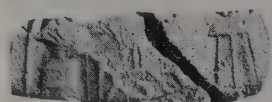
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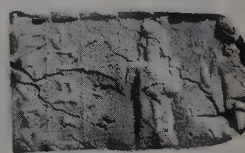
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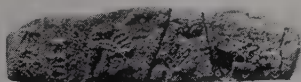
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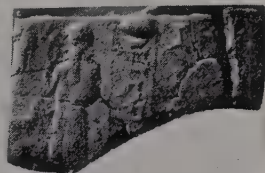
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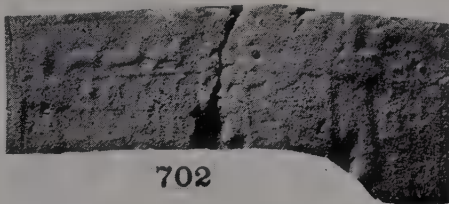
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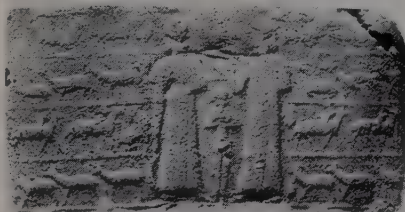
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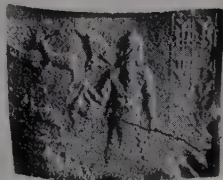
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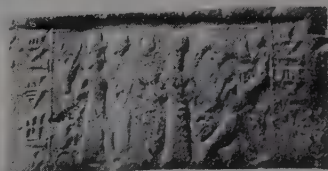
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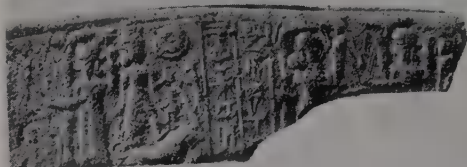
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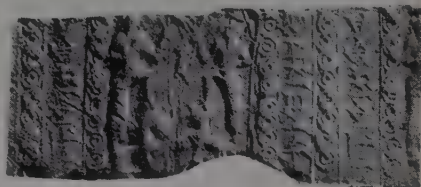
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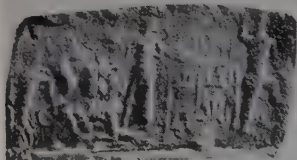
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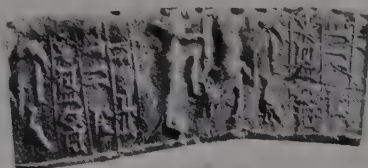
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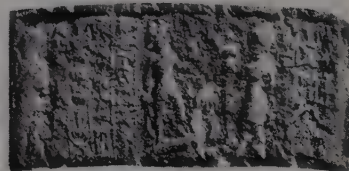
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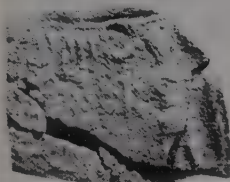
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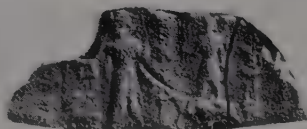
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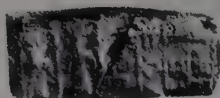
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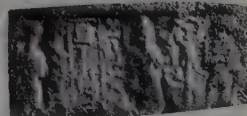
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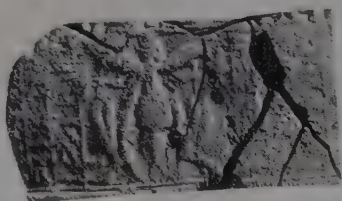
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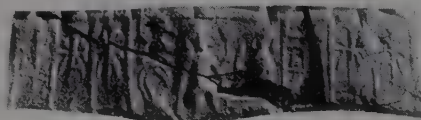
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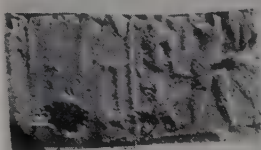
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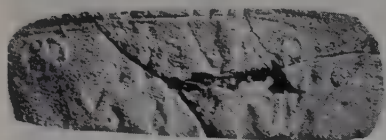
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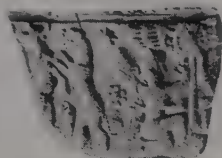
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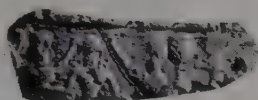
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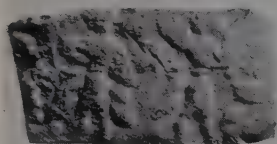
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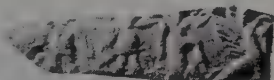
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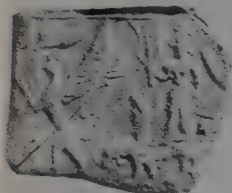
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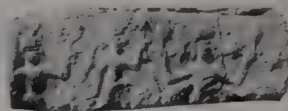
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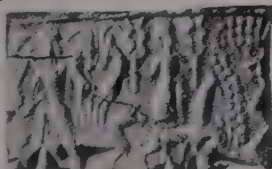
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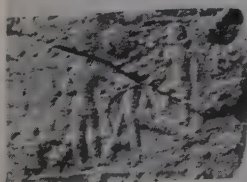
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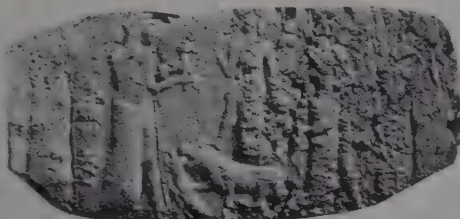
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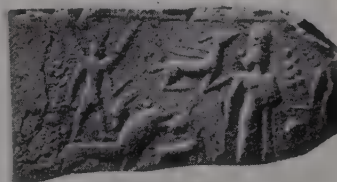
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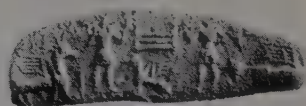
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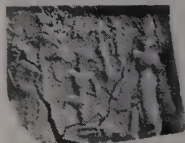
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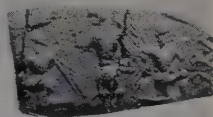
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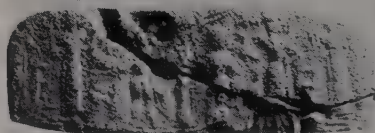
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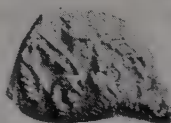
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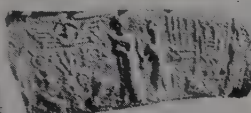
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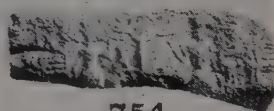
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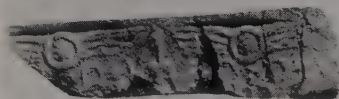
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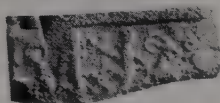
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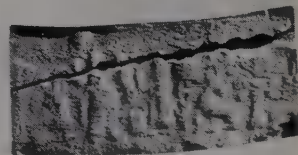
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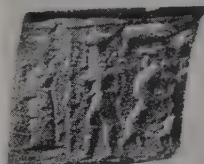
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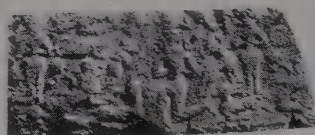
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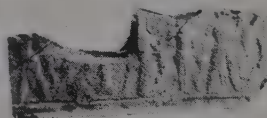
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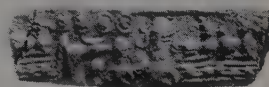
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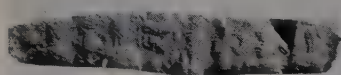
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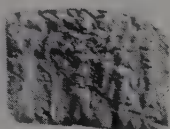
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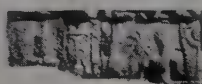
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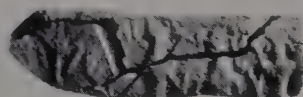
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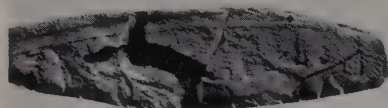
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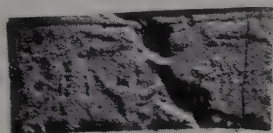
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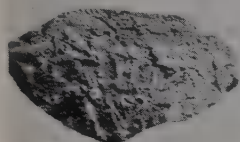
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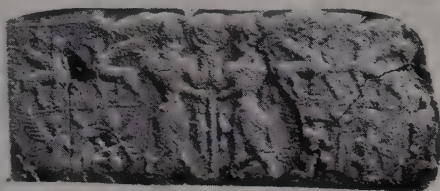
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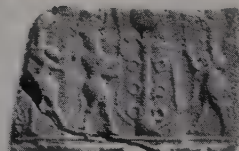
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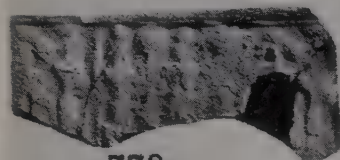
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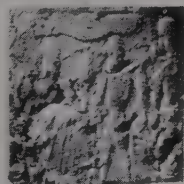
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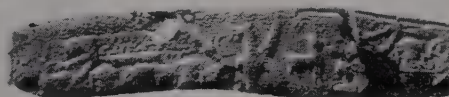
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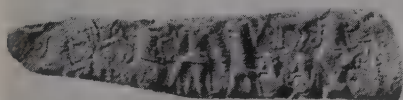
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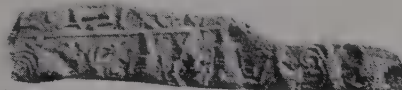
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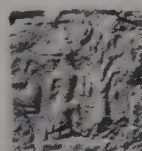
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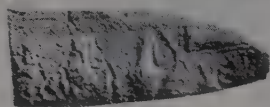
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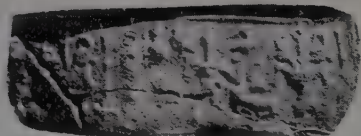
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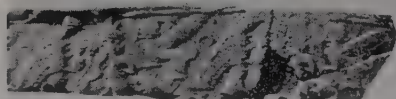
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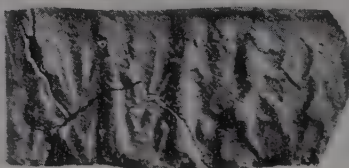
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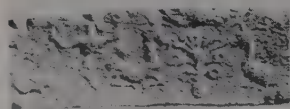
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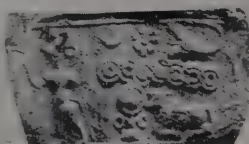
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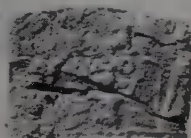
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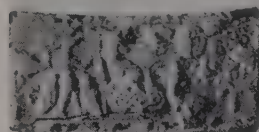
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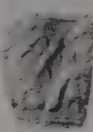
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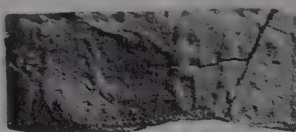
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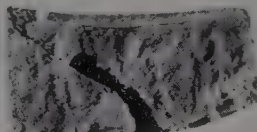
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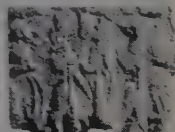
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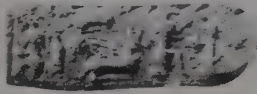
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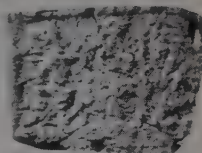
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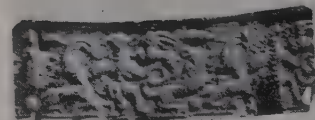
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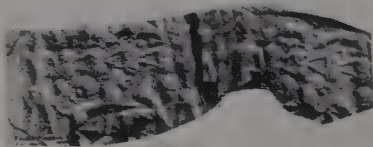
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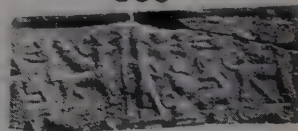
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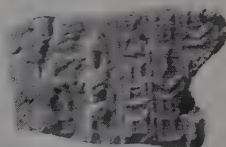
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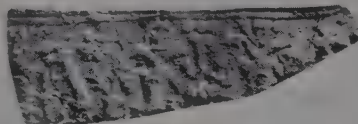
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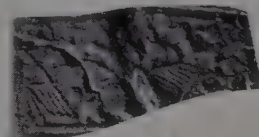
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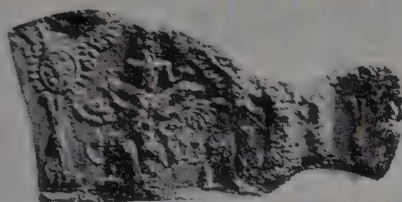
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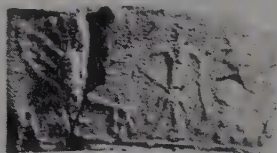
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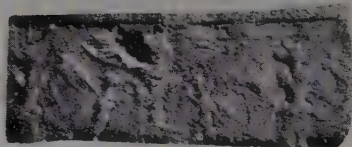
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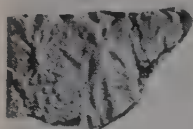
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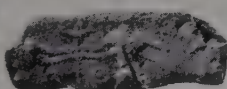
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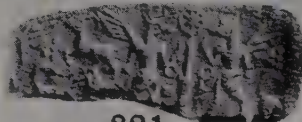
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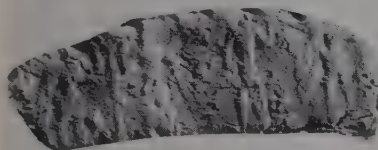
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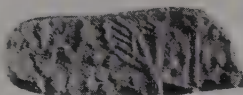
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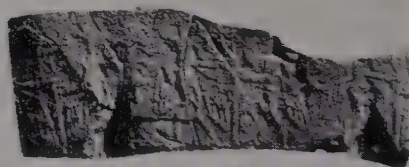
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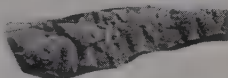
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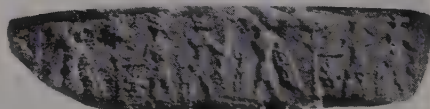
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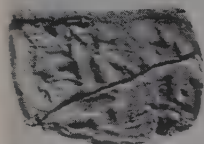
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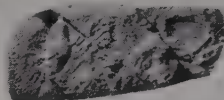
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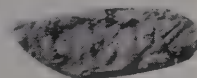
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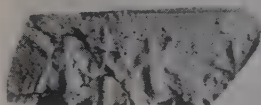
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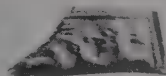
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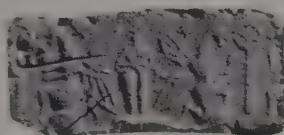
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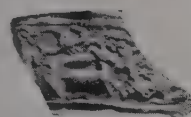
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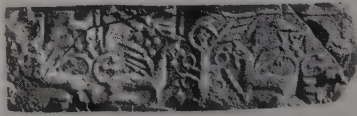
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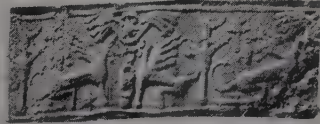
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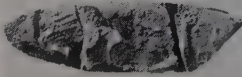
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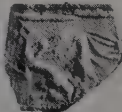
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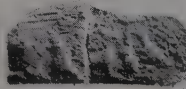
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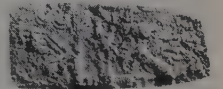
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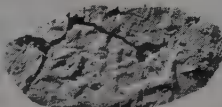
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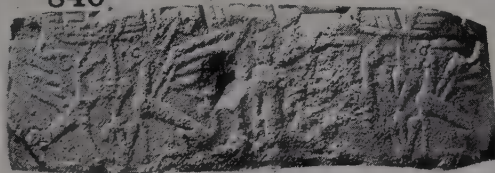
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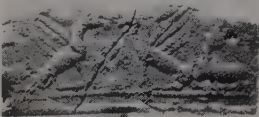
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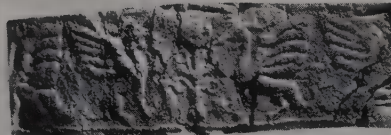
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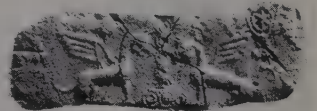
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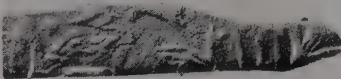
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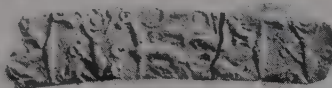
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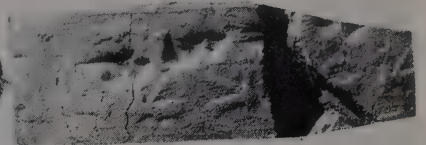
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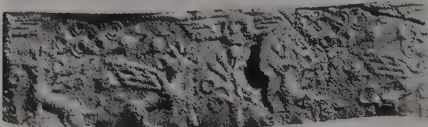
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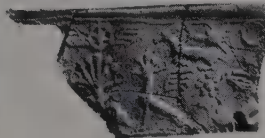
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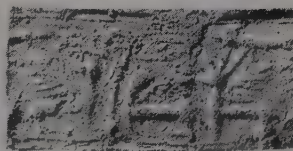
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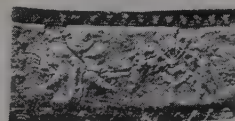
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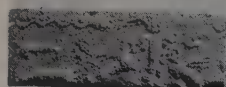
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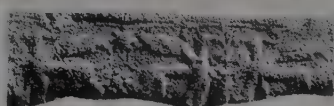
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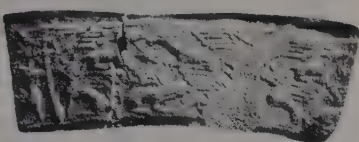
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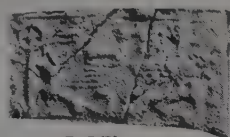
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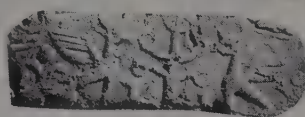
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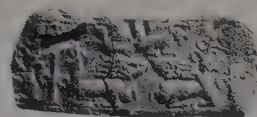
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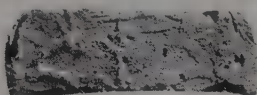
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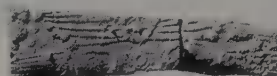
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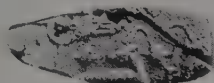
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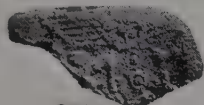
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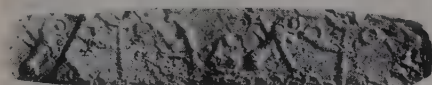
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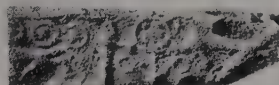
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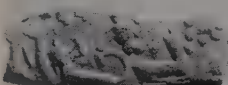
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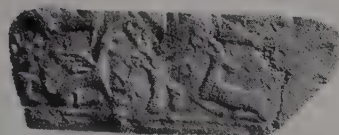
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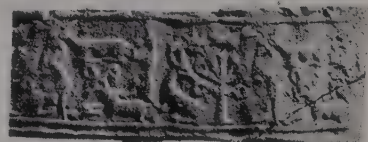
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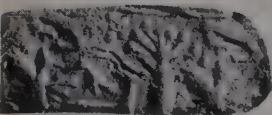
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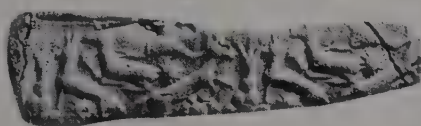
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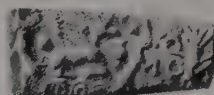
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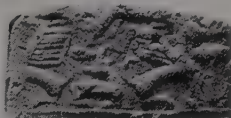
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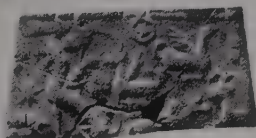
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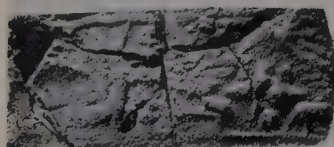
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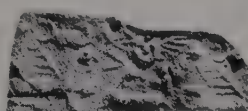
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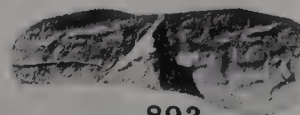
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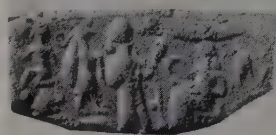
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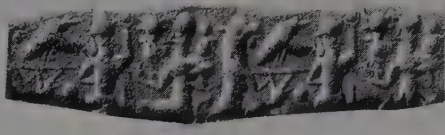
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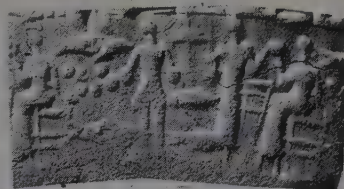
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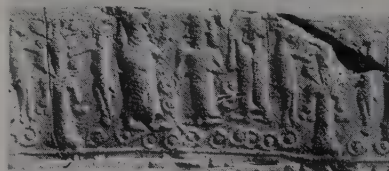
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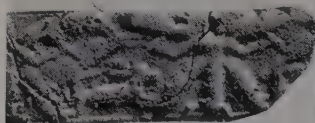
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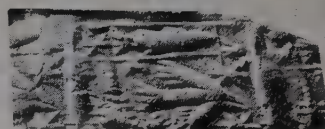
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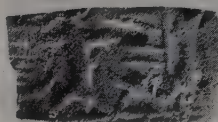
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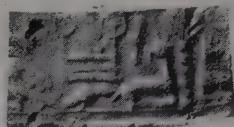
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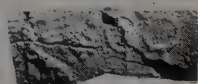
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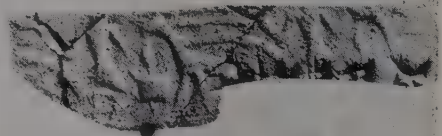
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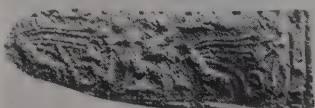
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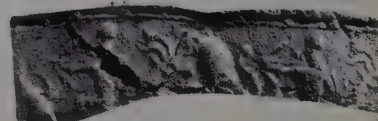
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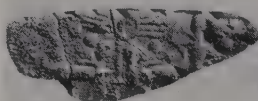
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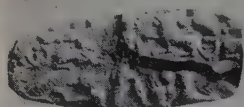
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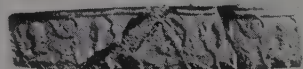
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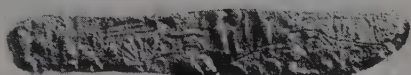
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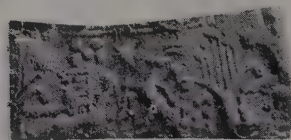
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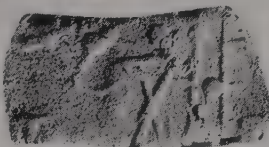
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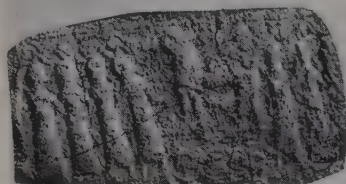
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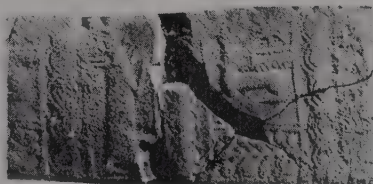
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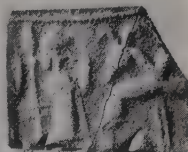
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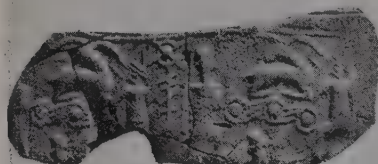
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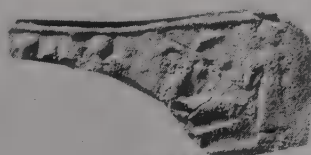
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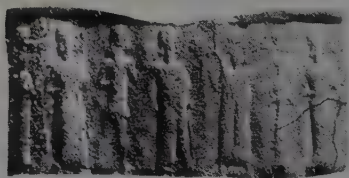
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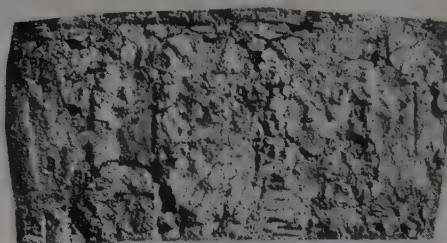
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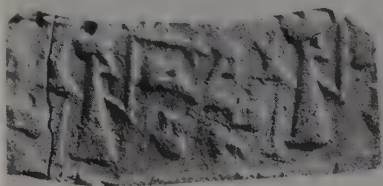
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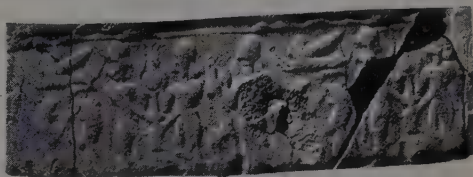
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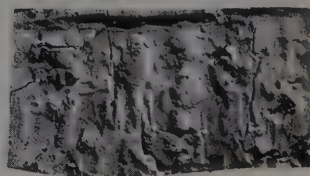
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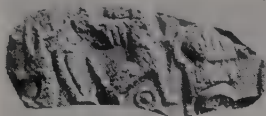
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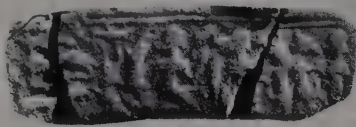
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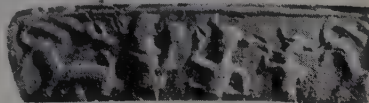
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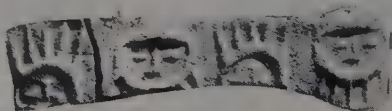
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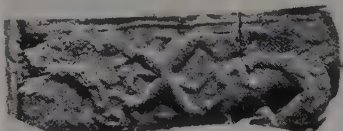
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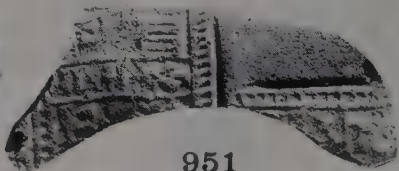
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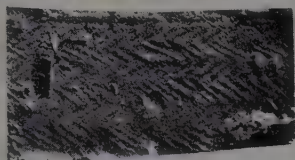
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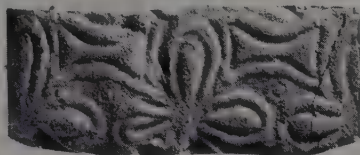
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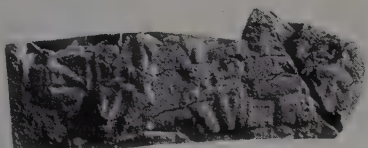
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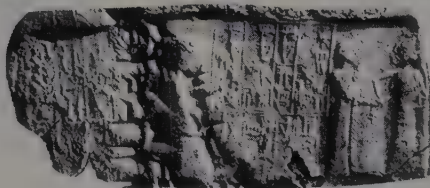
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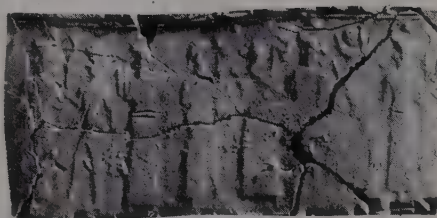
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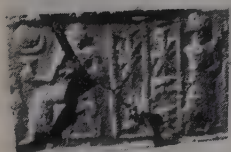
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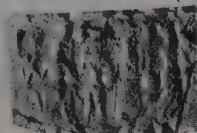
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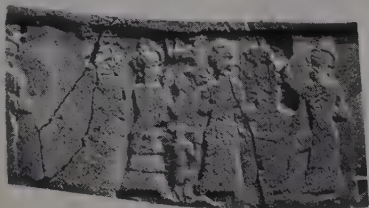
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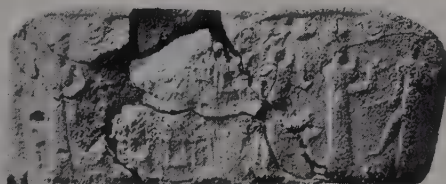
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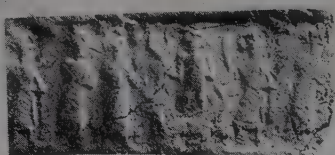
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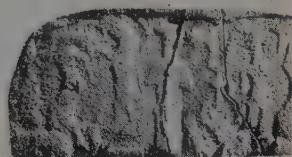
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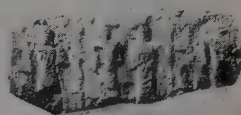
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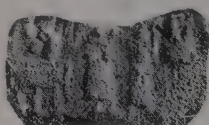
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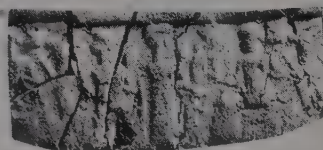
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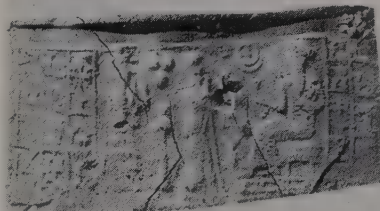
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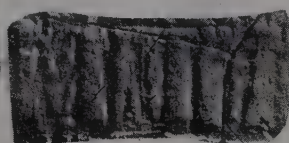
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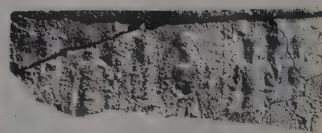
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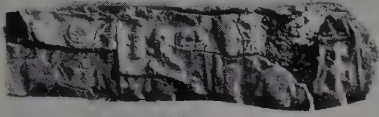
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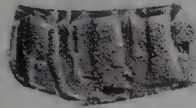
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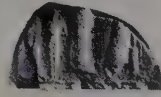
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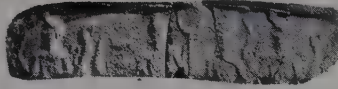
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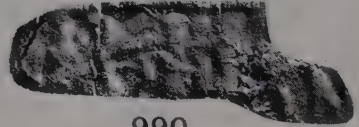
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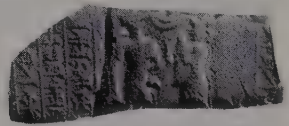
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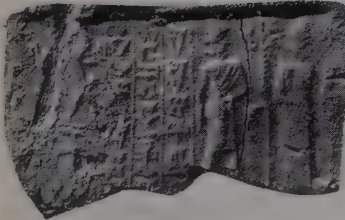
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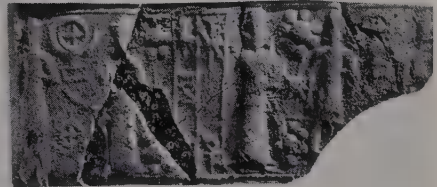
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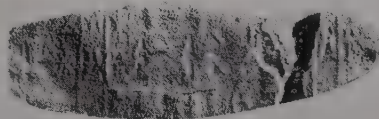
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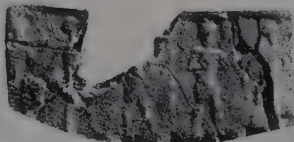
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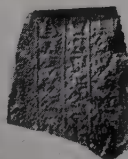
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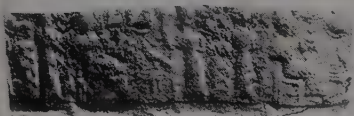
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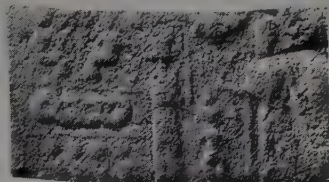
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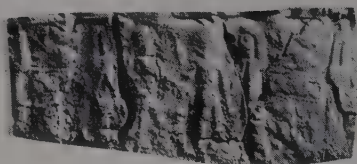
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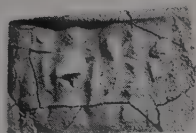
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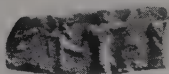
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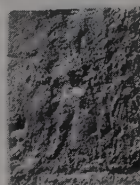
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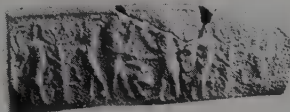
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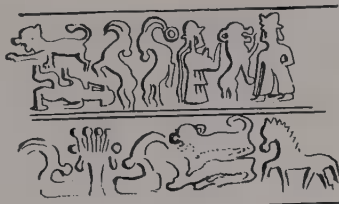
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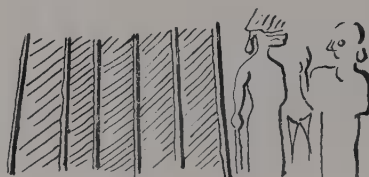
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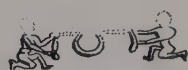
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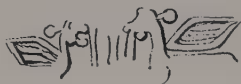
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